Main Currents of Contemporary Thought in Pakistan

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DISCOURSES DELIVERED AT SHAM-I-HAMDARD, Vol. II-1970-1972

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With an Introduction by
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INTRODUCTION

THE Hamdard National Foundation has blossomed out as a truly national institution. Its evening functions, organised in various cities of the country, with dignity and decorum and attended with reverential admiration, constitute only one aspect of its manifold activities, aimed at the maintenance and consolidation of national health. These functions have provided a forum for bringing together the intellectual elite and their cultured listeners, in an atmosphere free from political rancour and narrow self-interest. The uninhibited exchange of ideas and views, at a high intellectual level, helps in removing mental cobwebs and ensuring sanity and mental health to the social organism. The ideological orientation of the choice of themes for the Hamdard Evenings, preserves our links with our cultural heritage, on the one hand, and channelises our hopes and fears for the future, into constructive fields, on the other. The impetus to thought, thus generated, becomes an integral part of the process of our social engineering.

It would have been a great pity if what was said and heard at these delightful gatherings, had been lost to our future generations. The nation ought to be grateful to the Hamdard Foundation, for presenting it with a faithful record of these discourses, in their well-got-up and elegant publications. All addresses delivered in English, from the inception of the Hamdard Evenings till the end of the year 1972, are included in this book which is proposed to be published in two handy volumes.

A glance at the table of contents would reveal the wide variety of intellectual fare, offered to the discerning reader. Aspects from the panorama of our socio-political, cultural and religious history, thought-provoking analysis of our present predicament, problems that beset us in the field of education, our future constitutional and legal requirements, our arduous ascent towards economic viability and its social repercussions, the values of life and labour in our milieu, the solicitude for human dignity, are all reflected in the pages of this publication. The exponents of these themes are drawn from all sectors of life, from among those prominent in the realm of thought and action. The galaxy of talent that adorns these pages, could not have been brought together, without the exercise of that persuasive charm with which nature seems to have amply endowed the President of the Foundation, Hakim Mohammed Said. By his indefatigable efforts, he has succeeded in illuminating the trail of our cultural caravan, through the ages and has thus added extra dimensions to the activities of what would have probably remained a purely therapeutic institution, without his catalytic influence.

Lahore, **S. A. Rahman**
6 February, 1973

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BEGUM SALMA MASUD

WHILE giving you a warm and sincere welcome to this Sham-i-Hamdard, *I assure you of the renewal of this activity of the Hamdard National Foundation in a spirit of service to the nation. I am also bound to express my deep appreciation for your interested and lively participation in* Sham-i-Hamdard *in the past years, and look forward to the same, in the present and future. I can say with a measure of pride and truth that* Sham-i-Hamdard *has taken root in the cultural life of the nation and proves as a spring board for views, opinions, suggestions and guidance.*

Today's theme "Problems of Youth" is a complex, difficult subject, and will take stock of the profound and sweeping changes that have agitated our society, and of the problems arising out of the crisis of society with particular relation to youth. Begum Salma Masud who is our Guest Speaker, is particularly competent to speak on the problems of youth, being herself involved and committed to education of youth. After a brilliant academic record, she started her teaching career at Delhi. In 1953, *she was appointed as head of the C. B. School at Rawalpindi, which, under her leadership and management, grew into a high school, an intermediate college, a degree college and now is offering post-graduate classes. Today the C. B. Girls College ranks as one of the finest women colleges in West Pakistan. Mrs. Salma Masud received her diploma in educational administration at the Harvard University and has represented Pakistan in International Conferences at Ceylon and Iran. She is a member of the Academic Council of the Panjab University. She is also a member of the Central Film Censor Board, where perhaps she finds herself absolutely helpless and cannot speak out against the films produced in Pakistan aimlessly and without any regard towards national needs. And perhaps she has no say in the censor of imported films which are freely exhibited throughout Pakistan and tend to aim at subverting our youth, and tear them away from their Muslim ideology and character. I have touched upon this point, simply because such films whether exhi-*

bited in cinema houses or on television definitely contribute to the problems of our youth.

Every period of life has its peculiar temptations and dangers. But youth is the time when we are most likely to be ensnared. This, pre-eminently is the forming, fixing period, the spring season of disposition and habit; and it is during this season, more than any other, that the character assumes its permanent shape and colour, and the young are wont to take their course for time and for eternity. There are no more pitiable objects in the world—and we see them too often in the large cities—than youth, who are adrift in the world, assertive, insistent upon their rights, stridently rebelling against authority, manifestly violent, and demanding for radical and instant reform. In a world of accelerating social and technological change, they are constantly demanding new political and social structures, new attitudes. The generational gap has created anxiety, fear and a sense of impending doom. We tend to call youth "activist". The term "alienated" fits far better. They are alienated because they feel that our present society and its institutions rob people of their individuality, and leave them dissatisfied, depersonalised and alone.

More and more countries are trying to take practical steps to help youth, by creating facilities adapted to its needs, and developing activities organised by youth itself and its institutions. At the risk of repeating a truism, one must stress that school and university education wield the broadest and deepest influence of all, on youth.

Our Guest Speaker, as an educationist, and you, as parents, fully perceive and appreciate this factor. In recent years, education has enjoyed unprecedented expansion throughout the world. But what happens to the youth of Pakistan who receive an education, that all but eliminates religion and God from its purview, which, while offering some material benefits, creates new problems. I am constrained to say that our educational policy has been faulty and unobjective together, making us forget our culture, our religion, and failing to guide our youth to that balanced and matchless society which is characterised by brotherhood, tolerance and respect for all. It is to be hoped, particularly in the present circumstances, that education will be renovated and re-oriented with new directions and in keeping with our Islamic ideology. The creative ferment of youth



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must be guided to constructive channels. Forums for continuous dialogue with youth should be provided to give them a sense of understanding and a feeling of participation. The fundamental concepts of Islam should be inculcated in our youth, so that they could shoulder the task of guiding the nation in future years.

Pakistan cannot continue to waste her greatest resource—our children and our youth. Finally, I make a plea in the words of Dr. Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO:

> "*Youth are like those far-ranging birds, whose presence tells the mariner that unseen lands and continents lie over the horizon. We, who sail the high seas without knowing exactly where or when we shall strike land, should welcome such signs as messages. Let us try to decipher and understand them....*"

Hakim Mohammed Said

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Begum Salma Masud

IN the course of the last year, not only Pakistan and other Asian countries but also even the advanced countries like America, United Kingdom and France and Czechoslovakia have been faced with an extraordinary and unprecedented upsurge of students' unrest. In some of the countries they even triggered major political revolution. One of the factors, often cited as an explanation of youth unrest, is the very large number of young men and women under the age of thirty—which has become the critical dividing line between generations. But this fact alone does not constitute an adequate explanation of the revolutionary mood of many university students. In all historical eras, the vast portion of the population has been under the age of 30. If chronological youth alone were enough to ensure rebellion, advanced societies, where a greater proportion of the population reaches old age than ever before in world history, should be the least revolutionary and the primitive societies should be characterized by the greatest youthful ferment. This is not the case.

What does matter, however are two interrelated characteristics of the under-thirties. First, the relationship of the young to the established institutions of the society, that is, whether they are engaged in them or not; second, the opportunities the society provides for continuing intellectual, ethical and emotional development after the age of puberty.

While until the end of the Middle Ages infancy ended at the age of six or seven, where-upon most children were integrated into adult life, treated as small men and women, and expected to work as junior partners of the adult world. Today we are gradually giving recognition to another stage in life. The state of youth and by youth we mean a further stage of disengagement and development that intervenes between adolescence and adulthood.

The problem then is not that there are more young people, but that we have opened to larger number of them an extended period of disengagement and development that continues into the twenties and often until the thirties as well. It is a stage of continuing disengagement from the adult structures of the society, a stage that provides opportunities for intellectual, emotional and moral development which were not afforded to any larger group to the same extent ever before in history. In the students' revolts, we are seeing one result of this advance. Put it into an over-simplified phrase, it tends to free him from swallowing unexamined the assumptions of the past, to free him from the superstitions of his childhood, to free him to express his feelings more openly and to free him from irrational bondage to authority. Far from only turning out machine-like robots who will provide skilled manpower for the economy, we are turning out ever greater number of highly critical citizens, young men and women, who have had the opportunity, the leisure, the affluence and the educational resources to continue their development past the point where most men and women in the past were required to stop it. It is not the reflection of how bad higher education is but rather of its extraordinary accomplishments on a historical scale. Even the moral righteousness of the student rebels, a quality both endearing and infuriating to their elders, must be judged at least in part a consequence of the privilege of an extended youth, for a prolonged development, we know, permits the individual to elaborate a more personal, less purely convenient, sense of ethics.

But the mere fact of prolongation of psychological development need not automatically lead to unrest. To be sure, we have granted to millions the opportunity to examine their societies, to compare them with their values and to come to a reasoned judgement of the existing order. But why should their judgement today be so enthusiastic.

What protesting students share on a world-wide basis, is a mood more than an ideology or a programme; a mood that says that the existing system, the power structure, is hypocritical, unworthy of respect, outmoded and in urgent need of reform. In addition the complaint of repression, manipulation and authoritarianism is ubiquitous although paradoxical, given the apparent great freedoms to students in many nations. Those who complain most loudly

about being suffocated by the subtle tyranny of the society attend the institutions where freedom is in fact greatest. Around this general mood, specific complaints arrange themselves as symptoms of what they often call the exhaustion of the existing society.

The transition to industrial society brings with it a major shift in social emphasis and values. Industrializing and industrial societies, whatever their political organizations, tend to be oriented toward solving the problem of production. The emergence of industrial societies, however, means that growing numbers of youth are brought up in family environments where relative economic security and political freedom are simply facts of life, not goals to be striven for. To such young men and women, the psychological imperatives, social institutions and cultural values of the industrial ethics seem largely out-dated and irrelevant to their own life situations. As a result even though material conditions are in many respects better than ever before in world history, this era brings an unprecedented and surprising upsurge of student protest and unrest.

The vague feeling of oppression voiced by so many students springs from their feeling that the existing society has lost its ethical mandate and credibility. So any demand from the society is an exercise in "illegitimate authority", and must be exposed and resisted. And perhaps that peculiar sense of suffocation, felt by dissenting students, arises ultimately from living in societies without vital ethical claims. Given such a situation, it does not take much to trigger off a major protest. I doubt that school, college or university administrators are in fact 'more' hypocritical and dishonest than they were in the past. In the developing countries like Pakistan, it is precisely the point that so many problems of the society seem to have been resolved or resolvable that students now react with new indignation to old problems, turn to new goals, and propose radical reforms.

In its social and political aspects, the industrial revolution has been a revolution of universalization, in the sociologists awkward term. It has involved the progressive extension to larger and larger numbers of people of economic, political and social rights, privileges and opportunities originally available only to aristocracy and now to the middle class.

A subtle shift has thus occurred. What used to be utopian visions—for example, equality, freedom from discrimination, have now shifted to become demand—inalienable rights upon which one can insist without brooking any compromise. It is noteworthy in student confrontations that no one today requests anything. Students present their 'demands'.

As is often noted students often do not know what these objectives are. They speak vaguely of 'a society that has never existed' of 'new values', of 'a more humane world', 'of liberation'. In some cultural, historical and psychological sense, their rhetoric is largely negative, and it is only indirectly that we can discern certain trends in the rhetoric of the student the world across that point to the still unformulated targets.

Their demands involve a revolt against centralised power and the complementary demand for participation. What is demanded is not merely assent by the governed in the governance of their lives and their communities. The phrase "participatory democracy" of course summarizes this aspiration. The demand for participation extends to the demand for relevance in education, that is, for a chance for the individual to participate as a human being in his own educational experience in such a way that all of his faculties, emotional and moral as well as intellectual, are involved in his education. It also embodies meaningful human relationships, in which individuals confront each other without masks, pretences and games, 'relate' to each other as unique and irreplaceable human beings, develop and devise new forms of relationships from which all participants will grow.

Youth in a Social Vacuum

We have become so used to considering youth as a useless and sometimes troublesome minority in our communities that we often overlook the possibility of apprenticing them to the needful tasks of community life.

Our youth today are exiles to a certain sense, and they know it. We adults have been remarkably successful in excluding youth from roles that are significant and necessary in their immediate context.

We have placed youth in a social vacuum with nothing to measure themselves against except standardised academic achievement scores and poor standards evoked by advertising, consumer persuasion, and the disc jocky. The chief remaining roles for youth are those of passive students, consumers, dependents, and bored observers of the adult rat race.

Identity is familiar to us as essential quest of adolescence, but the quest for identity now is increasingly stalled for many adolescents and carried over unfulfilled into adulthood. We have achieved massive material abundance by massive changes in the way we live and work. In the process, elements of crucial importance to self-definition and social definition have been seriously unsettled. Such elements as the family, the roles of father and mother, the community, religion, and the structure of general society are in flux under the shock of revolutionary technological change. The questions of adolescence, the really crucial ones that begin to be asked in the colleges, "Who am I?", "Where am I going?", "What is the meaning of life?", become harder and harder to answer in ways that are satisfying, and socially constructive.

The situation compounded for youth is by a pervasive awareness that they are about to be handed an explosive world they never made, one that is loaded and ready to go off. Too often we adults are blind to their concern about this, persuaded that our immature youth couldn't care less about the overshadowing issues of the age and finding meaningfulness in their lives. I think instead that the surface apathy of youth today is a function of a sense of powerlessness of experience as dependent consumers, and of having been taught by nearly every agency of the society that we do not really want their engagement with serious reality until some indefinite later time when presumably they will be as wise as we are now. Youth's resources of social intelligence, energy, and idealism are largely subsurface, but are potentially vast and can be tapped and opened. Our schools and communities today, however, block these resources more often than they open them. As prototypes of a slob-culture of tomorrow and as exiles from the direct responsibilities of today, youth are put in a position that is damaging to them as individuals and destructive to our society's future. Both we and they are capable of more.

This adds up to a single major need which we adults must meet. This need is for the invention of new educational and action approaches to modern youth to help re-engage them in shaping the destiny of free society. We need more effective ways to relate youth to themselves as individuals, to their schools, their communities and the issues of the larger world. There are certain assumptions which underlie this point of view. These are:

1. That many youths in college are restless and uneasy with the hollow status and role to which they are typically consigned. Signs of their disquiet include apathy and a hypnotic response to the goals set by mass advertising, cynicism about 'degrees grabbing' hostility toward adult protectiveness and preaching, and a search for release that sometimes develops into anti-social violence.

2. That our youth are, by and large, capable of handling much more intellectual, political, and civic responsibility than they are typically given. On the one hand, we have tended forward a reverse assumption, swaddling youth in a smothering overprotectiveness that denies them the risks of responsibility. On the other hand, we recently have become more demanding of youth, but in terms that reinforce their exclusion from adult-like responsibility. Our demands today revolve chiefly around their traditional student roles: more stress on academic achievements, more pressure to advance, more course-work and homework. Such demands can be productive, but they reflect adult anxiety more often than they open up the reserve capabilities of youth to confront their world and play a part in its survival.

3. That the survival of the human race, and most certainly the survival of freedom, depends heavily on the next generation of adults. Changes in thinking and behaviour are more desperately needed now than ever before in human history, and they must be achieved in a very little time. The crucial target of re-education for the survival of humanity and freedom is in the next age groups down from adulthood, the youth who are in our colleges and universities. There

we have at least a chance to affect the immediate next generation of adults, to make them strong and flexible enough to manage an age of total crisis.

4. That our communities and colleges have unrealised capacities to help youth develop today as intelligent citizens and to use the help that youth themselves may provide. We have become so used to considering youth as a useless and sometimes troublesome minority in our communities that we often overlook the possibility of apprenticing them to the heedful tasks of community life. Each community everywhere is a potential laboratory for learning civic responsibility and service in real ways. Each of our colleges has unused capacities for helping this to happen. And our communities who have experienced and generous people who could be drawn upon within limits, to help youth see and understand the world they live in.

Discrimination

The situation, by no means very happy, is worsened by mismanagement and malpractices in universities and colleges which shock the student into realising, much against his expectations, that even these sacred "places of learning" are not free from social vices, particularly those for eradication of which they boastfully claim to be striving by disseminating "virtues" among the youth. When he is subjected to discriminatory treatment in the matter of award of scholarships, grant of fee concessions, and even assessment of his academic performance, he loses faith in the capacity of the teacher to transform him into a better human being and in the wisdom and integrity of the authorities who have appointed him. It does not take him long to discover that the appointment of teachers is not always made on the basis of merit. This feeling of the student, of his being subject to the guidance and instruction of persons having neither academic competence nor moral integrity, takes away from his heart much of the charm of a university or a degree college which lured him into its portals.

As time passes, he finds the class-room lectures of most of his teachers replete with irrelevant material, he is never led to res-

pecting him, and when an agitation engulfs an educational institution, he is not amenable to the influence of the teacher whom he has never respected. No doubt, the serious-minded and genuinely learned teachers do have considerable influence upon their students, but since they themselves disapprove the conditions prevalent in their institutions, they abstain from intervening with the students on behalf of the administration when a student agitation is in full swing.

From this analysis of a student's background, it becomes abundantly clear that the question of bringing him back to the path of discipline is a very complex one, and educationists alone are not capable of providing a satisfactory answer to it. As a matter of fact, any effective solution of the problem of the so-called student indiscipline should be preceded by the eradication of arbitrariness and mismanagement from the administration of educational institutions, particularly in matters having a stronger impact upon the student life than others.

These are the frustrating elements in students' role. Students are, by occupation, marginal men. They are in transition between dependence on their families for income, status and various forms of security and taking up their own roles in jobs and families. Student-hood is inherently a tension-creating period. In Pakistan, the rapid growth in the number of students means both that the composition of the college population, as a group, has come increasingly from less privileged families, and that the value of college degree for status placement has declined. Young people in society, in which education tends to determine how well they start in the struggle for place, find themselves facing a highly competitive situation.

Influence of the Faculty: Although the student protest is directed against much of the adult world, including the lecturers, it is important to note that changes in the backgrounds, the opinions of increasing numbers of faculty members undoubtedly have had considerable impact on their students. With increasing size and greater pressures on faculty are reduced the informal influence on students within the college as compared with twenty years ago. 'Teaching' as such has declined as the main indentification of the role of being a professor. 'Faculty' like students, are in an increasingly competitive situation, one in which men see themselves being

constantly judged as to their local and national positions. While some succeed in becoming nationally recognized figures, most faculty members necessarily do not achieve any such elevated scholarly status. With the depreciation of the teaching function as a local source of economic reward and status, many who have lost out in the competition within their own generation—or who, if successful, fear or actually see younger men coming up and securing the status they once had—become deeply dissatisfied and anxious.

Hence many teachers find solace in student militancy directed against the forces they hold responsible for their felt sense of status inferiority or insecurity. The same faculty that demands and secures lower teaching loads often tell their students that they are neglected and misused by the administration.

It is unrealistic to assume that students' problems are purely academic, or that they are related exclusively to their university or college life. It is the total life of the student, encompassing his entire day-long experience, which provides the psychological setting in which he reacts to his environment.

Professor Lipset of Harvard University says:

> "The sources of student activism are to be found in a combination of political trends, personal psychology, family background and university atmosphere".

This is true of all the students all over the world. This is a world-wide phenomenon. This explanation is related to the changing international picture, and the sources of political activism among students are essentially to be found in the changing world-wide climate of political opinion. During the 1940's and early 1950's, colonial Asian countries were struggling hard for their independence from the white and were battling hard against acute resources scarcities. To the activist young, who came to political consciousness in the late 1950's and 1960's, the gap between their sense of what ought to be and what actually existed seemed enormous. Students have almost invariably been more responsive to political trends, to changes in mood, to opportunities for social change than any other group in the population, except possibly

intellectuals. As a result students have often played a major role in stimulating unrest and fostering change in many countries. Awareness of the important role of students has led scholars to detail those general aspects of the students' situation which press them to act politically.

Many adults are reluctant, even when they consciously disagree, to caill students or youth to task sharply. The truism that the youth will nherit the future is linked with the sense that the youth are the bearers of the progressive ideas which will dominate the future.

The real world, of course, necessarily deviates considerably from the ideal, and part of the process of maturing is to learn to operate in a world of conflicting values, roles, interests and demands. Such compromises, as this requires, are viewed by youth as violations of basic morality. Students tend to develop ethics of 'absolute ends' rather than institutions. Hence, those events which point up the gap between ideals and reality stimulate them to action.

It may also be argued that student activism is the most recent expression of the need of the youth to have a separate culture. The student stratum, as such, has always tended to create an array of age-group symbols which set it apart from other social strata and from adults in particular. Changes in the political role of the university increasingly make politics a crucial source of self-expression. Though the institution itself may be non-partisan, professors take ever-increasing roles as party activists, commentators, advisers, consultants, and researchers on policy matters. Many students thus find themselves in centres of great political significance, but with little or no share in the political status of the institution.

According to national surveys of student activities, students are more 'idealistic' and 'committed' than their parents but generally in the same direction.

The foremost of such matters is the financial burden a student has to bear as the price of his education. If parents are too poor to bear the expenses, and they have to squeeze their already very meagre household budget to provide the child with university or college fees, he is not likely to behave in the university or the col-

lege as a person having faith either in the system of education or in the society as a whole.

The realisation, that these sacrifices by his parents to enable him to receive his education will not necessarily equip him with the knowledge or the skills that would ensure for him a reasonably secure future, further burdens his conscience with scepticism about the claim of educational institutions upon his loyalty. His consciousness, being a member of a generation whose future will be determined by the course which the history of the nation is taking under the guidance of the present day elite, deepens his feeling of exclusion from the political processes in which he should have been profoundly involved: he is pained to find that he has no hand in the shaping of the world of tomorrow, which will be undoubtedly his.

The idealism of youth is another stimulating factor. There is a maxim: "He, who is not a radical at 20, does not have a heart, he, who still is one at 40, does not have a head". The first part of it denotes a social expectation that young people 'should' be radicals, that the older generation believes that youthful reformism is praiseworthy behaviour.

Swayed by this idealism characterising the youth everywhere in the world, he watches with discontent the disparity between the economic condition of his own middle class and that of the aristocracy, and is alarmed by the prospect of the economic gap between these two classes widening with the "progress" of the country. He develops a Messianic urge to stop this process, if need be by force. He learns from newspapers that nations, like classes within his own nation, are divided between 'haves' and 'have-nots', and his heart expands to the 'have-not' nations manifesting a resolve to 'punish' the imperialism responsible for their economic slavery in the past; and, as a corollary to this attitude, any effort on the part of his own nation to align itself with wealthy nations fills his heart with disdain. The university or the college student, who is generally above 18, is also not unaware of his constitutional right to participate in politics, as a voter, as a canvasser, and as a candidate for an elected office. As such, advices by politicians, particularly by Government leaders, to 'shun politics' are considered by him a challenge which he should meet by furiously shouting political slogans.

Influence of Social Backgrounds: In general, studies of the social backgrounds of students in different disciplines suggest that those who take liberal art subjects and have an intellectual or scholarly bent have well-educated parents, whereas first generation college students of lowly origins tend to be vocationally oriented in a narrow sense, and are more likely to be found among those preparing to become engineers, businessmen, and the like. Their strong concentration on professional objectives, often results in their being less available for political activities than those from more privileged families. These findings may help to explain why colleges attended by larger numbers of less well-to-do students are less likely to be strong-holds of politics than those that educate the scions of upper middle class.

Some of the recent research-psychologists seek to go beyond the analysis of factors which seem to have a direct impact on political choice. They have also sought to account for political orientation and degrees of involvement by examining personality traits, thus they have looked at such factors as variation in the way different groups of students have been reared by their parents, i.e. in a permissive or authoritarian atmosphere, as well as investigating family relationships, student intelligence, sociability and the like. Such studies have reported interesting and relatively consistent difference between the minority of student activists and the rest of the student population.

No society should find it remarkable that a visible proportion of its student population is actively involved in politics. The circumstance of their being a 'privileged' group which gives them the psychic security to act is one of the factors which make their activism possible. It may be argued that a politically inert student population is a cause for greater misgivings than an active one. There is a serious danger, however that indiscriminate use of violence and disruption by students and others could result in undermining democratic processes and encouraging other aggrieved minorities to take the law and power into their own hands whenever they feel politically frustrated.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
3 February, 1970.

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[illegible] Institute, [illegible]

[illegible] February, 1970.

DR. QUAZI MUTAHER HUSSAIN

IT gives me much pleasure to welcome you again to Sham-i-Hamdard. *Your presence here this evening is a testimony of your interest and active participation in this medico-scientific, educational and cultural service of Hamdard National Foundation to the nation.*

It also gives me pleasure to introduce to you—if an introduction is necessary—Professor Quazi Mutaher Hussain, Professor Emeritus, Department of Statistics, University of Dacca. Think of statistics in the university and you think of Professor Saheb—they are almost synonymous. Besides organising the Statistics Department in the University of Dacca, he has had a literary and creative career. He was one of the leaders of the movement of "emancipation of intellect" in the 1926-36 *decade. This movement has helped a great deal in arousing the younger generation to a consciousness of their social and religious heritage and responsibility. The credit of establishing a full-fledged Department of Statistics in the University goes primarily to Dr. Hussain. He is the first Pakistani member of the International Statistical Institute, The Hague. He has represented Pakistan at various international conferences and committees. He is the author of books and articles and with his hobbies of music, tennis and chess—in the latter he is a champion—he leads a full, energetic and illuminating life.*

Today's subject deals with the inevitability of Pakistan. It was neither a quirk of fate, nor one man's caprice that brought it into being. There was a logical process which was set in motion centuries ago, with the advent of Muslim rule in India. The basic and conclusive fact is that Pakistan was brought into existence by the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. So many factors conditioned it and made it inevitable—geographical, political, territorial, economic, sociological, psychological and religious, the last two being particularly dominant.

Pakistan was a distinct creation of history. Centuries of political, social and religious longings, aspirations and ideals preceded it. After the decline of the Mughal empire, the vigorous preachings of

visionaries like Shah Waliullah, Maulana Shariatullah, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and others reawakened an urge for political independence. The uprisings and upheavals of the 19*th century, the war of independence in* 1857, *were patent manifestations of this urge. Under the British rule, the Muslims felt restless and insecure. When the movement for independence was in full swing, they felt that in a united, independent India, the majority community would submerge them. The vision of a separate Muslim State, faint during British rule, erupted volcanic-like at the threat of majority domination. This vision was helped by the growth of a strong middle-class among the Muslims which had educated and adapted itself to the stresses of modernisation. · This middle-class provided leadership to the masses. Earlier in* 1930, *at Allahabad the great philosopher-poet, Iqbal, had formulated the demand of a Muslim State. The longing for a separate Muslim State became widespread and powerful, the swiftness with which the idea took shape surprised even Muslim leaders as well. The whole reason of the demand was their Islamic faith. The purpose of setting up the State was to enable them to implement their faith and the cultural pattern they had evolved in the social and political field. Finally came the famous Resolution of the All India Muslim League at Lahore in* 1940, *now known as the Pakistan Resolution, proposed by the Hon'ble Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Haque, then Premier of Bengal. The process began—meetings, conferences, debates, concessions, withdrawals, but the* 80 *million Muslims under the strong leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ai Jinnah, remained adamant. They realised that their existence was in danger and if they wanted to maintain their identity, they must struggle for it. Struggle they did, and on August* 14, 1947, *Pakistan, the predestined, the inevitable, the cherished State was born.*

Before I conclude, I am moved to make a plea for some soul-searching. Have we lived up to the ideals for which Pakistan was created? Do we act with the same pristine fervour and sincerity of our Muslim pioneers and builders or do we sink in the destructive sands of prejudice and passion ?

May God help us to act with truth, faith, unity and discipline.

Hakim Mohammed Said

THE INEVITABILITY OF PAKISTAN

Dr. Quazi Mutaher Hussain

The Background

IT is well-known that after the downfall of the Mughal dynasty and during the expansion of the British supremacy in India, Muslims lost contact with the dawning era of a new civilization based on science. In fact they were stupefied by defeat in the hands of a company of mere merchants and continued to entertain the memory of the sovereignty of their ancestors without realising the magnitude of their degradation.

For Hindus, on the other hand, it was only a matter of change of masters. They thought that all masters will behave more or less in the same manner; if they could serve the one they could also serve another. They, therefore, whole-heartedly co-operated with the British Company and took advantage of the apathy of the Muslims to secure a good lead in new business enterprises, and to fill lucrative jobs under the Company; they did not think that the learning of English was a new-fangled novelty (or *bida'at*, as the Muslims would call it). Of course, the above remarks apply more appropriately to the higher classes among the Hindus and the Muslims. The mass of the population were mostly illiterate and ignorant and remained so almost upto the end of the 1870's. Meanwhile, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, institutions were established for imparting English education to the Indians, and the vernaculars—particularly *Urdu* and *Bengali*—for the Europeans for obtaining a better understanding of the mind and spirit of the natives. Incidentally, this would also help the Indians to learn elements of science and something about their own traditions through literature.

In Bengal, the Hindus participated whole-heartedly in the development of Bengali language, and naturally they introduced into the system of education, a great deal of their traditions from the **Ramayana**, the **Mahabharata**, and the **Hitopadesh**. The Muslims, having non-cooperated with the Europeans, lost ground in the matter of incorporating their tradition and culture in Bengali literature, except the feeble attempts by less educated men with some smattering of Persian and *Urdu*, who introduced a system of mixed *Urdu-Bengali Punthis* narrating the exploits of Muslim heroes and stories of **Suhrab-Rustam**, **Laila-Majnun**, **Gul-e-Baquawali** and the like. But the *Punthi* writers also deserve our thanks; but for them Muslim tradition would have been buried more deeply, and could not have been so easily introduced into acceptable Bengali literature as happened later on, from the last decade of the nineteenth century.

To return to our narration: In 1836, English was made state language replacing Persian which had hitherto enjoyed that status, afforded some chance of holding magisterial jobs in courts. Now this measure suddenly reduced Muslims or Hindus who knew only Persian (with or without *Urdu* or *Bengali*) to the status of illiterates. By this time, as already stated, the Hindus had picked up some English, but practically the entire Muslim group lost all prestige with the ruling East India Company. The Muslims could not now expect any better jobs than that of *duftaries*, *darbans*, peons, and the like. Only English-knowing persons could now be appointed to superior posts under Government.

There is another aspect of the situation. The East India Company as well as the British people in England had been all along suspicious of the Muslims and regarded them as avowed enemies. So it was natural to keep at least one group of the people on their side.

In 1857, the great tragedy of the revolt of sepoys occurred not as organised national movement against foreign tyranny, but as a protest by all sepoys as a class against their officers for issuance of the greased cartridges that offended the susceptibility of both the Hindu and the Muslim sepoys. All types of rumours were spread about composition of the cartridges. And one of the most colourful Indian leaders was the Mahratta princess, the Rani

of Jhansi, who died at the head of her troops. The area of the 'mutiny' was mainly confined to the northern provinces of India and lasted a little over a year. There are instances of the sepoys committing barbarous murder of British women and children; but no less inhuman were the gruesome actions of Company Officers. They considered, prejudiced that they were, that the Muslims were chiefly responsible for the uprising. On this supposition, they captured Muslims, flayed them alive, put their bodies inside pigskins, sewed them up and allowed the corpses to be desecrated by non-Muslim soldiers.

The upshot of the whole affair was as follows :

(1) The East India Company was ended and after 1858, the governance of India became the direct responsibility of the British Government;

(2) Much of the enthusiasm of British Indian administration since 1820's for transforming Indian customs and traditions by the impact of Western ideas was damped; and

(3) Queen Victoria's Royal proclamation of 1858 expressly stated that Britain will not molest any princely States in future, and will not impose western conception or religious beliefs upon the Indian people. This is the famous "hands off" policy on the part of the British Government.

After Sepoy Mutiny, Sir Syed Ahmed, the great leader of all India fame endeavoured, on the one hand, to ameliorate the condition of the Muslims, by directing the attention of the British Government to the neglect and suffering of the Muslims during the East India Company's regime, and, on the other hand, to persuade the Muslim population to realise the significance of the modern age and turn to the cultivation of modern education in the English language, which was necessary for the very existence of them as a nation in a competitive world. He founded the Aligarh College in 1877, which soon turned into a famous centre of Muslim culture and Islamic studies. In Bengal, Nawab Abdul Latif had already been trying to introduce Anglo-Persian courses in colleges and *Madrasas*

in Calcutta, Hoogly and other *mufassil* centres. He was the first to realise that the then prevailing system of learning Arabic, Persian and *Urdu* could neither produce men with real knowledge of Islamic culture nor men capable of leading the masses to the right towards progress in the modern world, world of scientific knowledge. It is surprising that, himself a man with *Urdu* as his family language, he exhorted the general *Bengali*-speaking Muslims to make an intensive study of *Bengali* instead of *Urdu* for being better able to grasp even religious matters in their own mother tongue. He once invited Sir Syed Ahmed to discuss the urgent social and cultural matters of the Muslims and to deliver lectures at the Calcutta *Madrasas*.

Towards Independence

I would now refer to the national movement of the Hindus and the meaning which some of their more brilliant leaders attached to the term 'National'. Dayananda Saraswaty, the founder of the *Arya Samaj* (1875) believed that every thing foreign was bad. This was an attitude directly opposite to that of the previously founded *Brahmo Samaj*. Dayananda's motto was: India was for the Hindus only. Swami Vivekananda was, of all the makers of modern India, the most classless and purely patriotic. He became a world figure. To him, although all religions were true and good, the noblest and the most venerable was Hinduism. Thus his was the voice of militant 'nationalism' blending political aspirations with religious exhortations. Inspired by Dayananda and Vivekananda, there appeared militant nationalists like Balgangadhar Tilak, a sponsor of cow-protection societies, who glorified Shivaji and regarded the Muslims as foreigners. It must be mentioned here, in fairness, that Vivekananda had recognised Muslim contributions to Indian life and regarded the Muslims of India to be Indians, unlike the hordes of Alexandar, Sultan Mahmood, Taimur-Lang, Nadir Shah and such others.

In 1885, the first meeting of the Indian Association was held in Poona. Leaders like Subrahmanyam Ayer, Surendra Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji were associated with this organisation. Its object was to disprove the current British idea that India was wholly

unfit for any form of representative institution. Among 70 delegates, who attended this meeting, there were only two Muslims. This organisation was the germ from which grew the Indian National Congress. In 1886 meeting of the Congress, Muslim attendance of 33 out of a total of 440; in 1890 it was 156 out of 702. After this date there was a rapid decline. In 1905 we find only 17 Muslims out of a Congress membership of 756.

The smaller number reflects the backwardness of English education in the Muslims, as also the uninterestedness of the general Muslim masses who had not yet been nationally or politically awakened. Incidently it may be noted that Sir Syed Ahmad was also asked to join this Indian National Congress. But he, having sensed the growing Hinduistic leaning of the Congress, suspected in it a device which would relegate the Muslims into the status of a permanent minority. Therefore, he refused to have any thing to do with it. That Sir Syed's assessment was perfectly right, was shown in the late 1890's by the emergence of Hindu leaders like Dayananda and Tilak, as mentioned earlier.

Meanwhile the All India Muslim League came into existence in 1906 through the efforts of the Aga Khan, and the Ali Brothers (Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali). The first meeting of the League was held at Dacca on an invitation of Sir Salimullah Bahadur, the Nawab of Dacca. The second meeting was held in Karachi in 1907 and the third in Aligarh in 1908. As a result of the militant attitude of the Hindu leaders and their great emphasis on Hinduism, the Muslim leaders found it necessary, for preservation of their interests, to unite themselves into a political organisation. The rapid decline of Muslim attendance in the All India National Congress, may also be traced to the same cause. Mr. R. P. Datt says :

> "The Hindu leaders did not appreciate the implications of transforming the national movement from a purely secular to a politico-religious one. And when there was an **inevitable** Muslim reaction, most members of the Congress made the serious error in refusing to admit the **existence** and **validity** of Muslim Nationalism".

The All India National Congress was also associated with the terrorist movement. In Bengal alone, from 1906 to 1917, there were 168 outrages with murder of 61 persons. It was the younger group, mostly Hindus, who took to shooting British administrators; they also collected funds, on point of the rifle, from wealthy men and merchants. They resented any Governmental measure that did not conform to their wishes.

In the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, separate electorate was granted to the Muslims, and their representation was slightly weighted as a result of the arguments of a deputation to England sent by the Muslim League. The eminent Hindu nationalist Gokhale also had supported the League's claim. But a small militant Hindu group (who later came into power) was violently against any concession to the Muslims. On the whole the Morley-Minto Reforms were accepted by moderates who had faith in British promises and hoped for better results in the near future; but the impatient leftist group created serious disturbances. The Congress was, in those days, a middle-class movement of lawyers, journalists and merchants with no contact or concern with the general masses. No doubt, this last characteristic was shared also by the contemporary Muslim League.

During the World War of 1914-1918 both Hindus and Muslims unexpectedly supported the British Government's war effort in the form of monetary contributions and supply of troops, regarding the war an ideological one against Fascism by Democratic forces of the Allies. This prompted the British Prime Minister Asquith to declare that the Indian problem would henceforth be more sympathetically considered, although the declaration produced no visible result in the course of the following two years. In December, 1916, the leaders of both the Congress and the League sent to the British Government a demand of Home Rule, known as "the Memorandum of the Nineteen", urging Britain to expedite measures for a quick attainment of *swaraj* for India. As a result, in 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was produced which aimed at bifurcation of Governmental administration into two parts—one responsible and the other bureaucratic. This was regarded as being far short of expectation. Yet Gandhi at first agreed to accept it,

inspite of the recent tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh by O'Dyer, the Governor of the Punjab. But after only six months, Gandhi performed a complete '*volte*-face' and was calling the British rule as 'Satanic'. Of course, this was altogether without reason. Firstly, the Lower House of Parliament had condemned and recommended the removal of O'Dyer, but the House of Lords turned down this recommendation and 'white-washed' the O'Dyer incident as a necessary action for the sake of maintaining peace and avoiding a possible revolution comparable with the Sepoy Mutiny. Secondly, after World War I, Turkey was stripped of its territories in North Africa, Asia Minor and Arabia; the straits were internationalised; and Greek forces were landed in Smyrna with British encouragement which led to the *Khilafat* movement of the Muslims throughout India. Gandhi seized this as a rare opportunity of a Hindu-Muslim **entente.** He supported the *Khilafat* movement, and initiated the so-called 'non-violent non-cooperation' movement which soon turned violent with arson, looting and riots.

In the Madras Congress of 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru managed to pass a resolution declaring complete independence as the goal of India. In 1928, the Simon Commission, a body for studying the Indian political situation, was booed as it landed in Bombay. At this stage, Lord Birkenhead, the shrewd Secretary of State for India, challenged the various Indian parties to produce a scheme of government agreeable to all. In August, 1928, under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, a report called 'the Nehru Report' was produced. But this also produced violent disagreement between the Muslim League and the Congress, and between moderate members of the Congress and the young Nationalists. In order to restore a sort of unanimity in the Congress opinion, Gandhi, who had retired for a time, came back at the helm of affairs, and at Calcutta in December, 1928, was able to pass a resolution demanding that Britain should accept the Nehru Report. Meanwhile the Labour Party assumed power in Britain supplanting the Conservatives. Irwin, the Governor-General of India issued a statement that in order to dispel doubts both in Britain and in India, a Round Table Conference would soon be convened in London for discussing the interpretation of Morley-Minto Report which had become an Act. Gandhi declined to attend the Conference, but the Indian moderates of the Congress accepted this.

For some time in the late 1920's, Muslim League also was divided into factions. In 1928 the Aga Khan, as President of a great conclave in Delhi, put forward a number of fundamental demands of the Muslims which would have to be met in any new constitution for India. These were:

(i) Provinces in any federation must have complete autonomy.

(ii) In any legislature, provincial or federal, all resolutions affecting communal relations can be blocked by the position of three quarters of the votes of a community.

(iii) There must be separate electorates.

(iv) Muslims must be given fair representations in Cabinets.

(v) Muslims shall be given adequate number of posts in the Governmental services.

(vi) Muslim culture should receive its rightful share of public funds, so that its schools and other institutions are not neglected.

In 1929, twenty three prominent Muslims issued a manifesto against the Nehru Report; later in the same year, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah also drafted a platform modelled somewhat after the manner of the Aga Khan's six-point draft at the Delhi Conclave. But all these attempts failed. Muslim unity could not be attained. A faction of the Muslim League led by Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Ansari joined the Congress, maintaining that it was a secular All India party. It is to be remembered that the Nehru Report was surcharged with definitely Hindu interests ignoring entirely the real problems of the Muslims. It was this report which alienated such ardent adherents of the Congress as Maulana Muhammad Ali (of the Ali Brothers); as also Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the young leader who was destined, later, to fight strongly and steadfastly for the partition of India into two States, and finally to obtain it.

Birth of Pakistan

The first Round Table Conference was held from November 5, 1930 to mid-January, 1931. This included some of the foremost

leaders in Indian public life, representing various parties including the Sikhs, Untouchables, Muslims, Christians and the Liberal Party in British India. In this group Dr. Ambedkar represented the Untouchables, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Aga Khan, the Muslims, and Sapru and Shastri, the Liberals. Gandhi and his Congress boycotted it. This first Conference approved the principle of a Federal Government for India. The new structure would embrace both British India and the Indian States. In addition, there was to be an end of diarchy in the provinces, where responsible government under Indian ministers would be introduced. At New Delhi the National Government would have extensive power, with the British retaining control over defence and foreign affairs, and finally, the interests of British business and investment were to be protected. Furthermore, in the event of any emergency the British Governors in the provinces and the Viceroy in New Delhi were endowed with special safeguards to maintain peace.

In the second Round Table Conference, held from Spring 1931 to Summer 1931, no progress could be made in specifying the details. In the name of Congress, Gandhi balked at many proposals, especially the rights of the minority groups for separate electorates. So it was a complete failure. Simultaneously, serious riots and disorders broke out in India. In the third Round Table Conference, held from November 17, 1932 to December 24, 1932, neither the Congress nor the British Liberal Party was represented. The purpose of this Conference was to fill in the final details of the new governmental structure of India. After the Conference had concluded, the British Government put together the findings and drafted a proposed constitution for India, called the White Paper of March, 1933. A joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was formed. This Committee submitted their report in November, 1934. This report was the basis for the British national government's India Bill which was introduced into Parliament in January, 1935. The Bill was duly passed by the House of Commons and the House of Lords. On August 4, 1935, it received royal assent and thus became law.

Most politically conscious Indians belonging to all parties were disappointed with this new constitution. Even the most moderate party was irked at the Act's failure to mention "Dominion

Status" specifically. Nevertheless, on account of some safeguards the Muslims and other minority groups were ready to try the Act. But the Congress turned down the Act as absolutely unacceptable. All the while there were disturbances due to civil disobedience and these were suppressed ruthlessly. People were sick of continuous struggles and uncertainties, and economic hardship. However, after the Congress was revitalised with greatly increased membership, and it allowed its members to take their offices the provincial responsible governments came into force in 1937. It was found that the British civil servants carried out their assigned duties faithfully under Indian Ministers, and the governors remained in the background without much interference. But the Hindu-Muslim relations became more and more embittered.

In those provinces ruled by Congress ministers, during the brief period of two years, there were 57 serious communal out-breaks with some 1700 persons injured and 130 killed. The shadow of partition was appearing over the land. The communal problem overshadowed all other issues. Gandhi had already expressed his view in the second Round Table Conference by "refusing to recognise the right of any party or group other than Congress to speak on Indian affairs". This claim was heatedly refuted by the leaders of the Muslim delegation, and by Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the Scheduled Classes. The Congress, 1937, refused to admit any Muslim into a provincial ministry unless he became a member of the Congress and gave up allegiance to the League. On this issue Dr. Ambedkar denounced the Congress policy, and wrote that it was "indeed a covert attempt to break all other parties in the country and make the Congress the only political party. The demand for signing the Congress pledge can have no other intention. This attempt to establish a totalitarian state may be welcome to the Hindus. But it means the political death of the Muslims as a free people". On the other side, Nehru declared with great chicanery and a smear of naiveté "the ministers were the spokesmen of the mighty national movement of India and were under the discipline of their party, and directly controlled by the Congress Working Committee". The Muslims believed that Congress policy was authoritarian and rendered provincial autonomy quite illusory.

There were other aspects of Congress Government that irritated and alarmed the Muslims. When the new provincial governments

came in, the Congress tricolour was raised over the public buildings and when the legislatures convened they were opened by singing the song '*Bande Mataram*'. The Congress members practically monopolized all appointments to public offices, and in the realm of education the Congress Government was determined to make *Hindi* the legal language of the educated. Moreover, Congress initiated a mass movement to wean Muslims away from their organisations and into the party of Nehru and Gandhi. Naturally, the Muslims saw no alternative other than to try to be united under a single banner. They badly needed an able leader, which they found in a great leader, that is, Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah who fully justified that appellation. Under his leadership, as President of the Muslim League, the party's strength increased to an extraordinary level. Between 1937 and 1943, 61 elections were held for Muslim seats in the legislature, out of which the League won 47, Independent candidate, 10, and Muslims sponsored by the Congress only 4 seats. By the end of 1937, 170 new branches of the Muslim League were established and in one province alone 1 lakh new members were recruited. At a League Conference held in October 1937, Jinnah declared that Muslims could not expect fair play under Congress Government. In 1938 Jinnah and Nehru exchanged correspondence which the former demanded that the League ought to be recognised as the sole organisation representing the Indian Muslim community. There was no agreement, however; and in December 1938, Jinnah, who clearly saw the whole picture, declared that all hope for communal peace had been wrecked "on the rocks of Congress Fascism". This was proved by the complete neglect of the Muslims in all the seven provincial governments formed by the Congress. Kamal Yar Jung Report on education stated that in the whole Arabic educational institutions the Muslims "hardly have any opportunity of knowing anything about the Prophet, the Caliphs, the saints, and the scholars, the poets or the heroes of Islam".

As these facts were revealed, naturally the Muslims had to think of Indian independence in terms of self-determination for their own community. The problem was deeper than mere contest for jobs. The question of distinct ways of life, i.e., of distinct ideologies, also could not be ignored. It is true that "beginning late in the 19th century, there has been a re-discovery of the greatness of the Muslim period of Indian history; and, after the World War

I, there has developed a feeling of self-identification, a participation in Pan-Islamic movement with the renascent Muslim States".

These writings of history on the walls of time became more and more clear to the Quaid-i-Azam, but were quite invisible to Gandhi and Nehru, and only dimly visible to the unwilling eyes of the British Government and their representatives. And through the forces of wastage of blood and money in the Second World War, fratricide of the Indian peoples among the Hindus and Muslims, and sheer exhaustion, weakness and incapacity of the British Government to profitably rule over India any longer, they had to quit India, leaving it ideologically divided into Pakistan and India. To Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam belongs the credit of diagnosing the import of current events, and skilfully guiding the Muslims to a safe destination under circumstances which were unwittingly created by a mystic Gandhi and a power-intoxicated Nehru by their indiscretion, injustice and want of human sympathy towards the Muslims.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Dacca.
12 February, 1970.

KHALID WAHEED

IT gives me much pleasure to welcome you all to Sham-i-Hamdard. *I recognise new faces among the old, and to them I extend our hand of friendship and service through this medico-scientific, educational and cultural service of Hamdard National Foundation.*

Our Guest Speaker this evening is Mr. Khalid Waheed, President, Pak-Soviet Friendship Association and the Academy of Fine Arts. He is a former President of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry. After a brilliant school and college career through the Aitchison College, Yorktown Heights High School, New York, New York State Regents and Purdue University, U.S.A., he has devoted himself to a career in commerce and industry. An avowed futurologist and partisan to innovation, he contributes his ideas and experience to all the organisations with which he is associated either as Chairman, Director, Member, Associate or Delegate—and believe me they are many. No wonder then, that he has selected as the theme of his paper today, "The Unfinished Symphony—A Nation's Quest in the '70s". His interpretation of ideas and problems facing the nation in the '70s and the degree of achievement he will credit it, will be undoubtedly lively.

Time, it is said, is a three-fold present, the present as we experience it, the past as a present memory, and the future as a present expectation. By that criterion, the quest of the nation in the '70s depends on the decisions we make now, in the way we design our environment, our education, our agriculture, our technology, our health.

The basic framework of day-to-day life has been shaped in the last 50 years by the ways the automobile, the airplane, the telephone and television have brought people and nations together. Major challenges and problems are already confronting our society—a livable physical environment, effective urban planning, the expansion of post-graduate education, the pressures of density and reduction of privacy,

the fragility of political institutions beset by many pressure groups. As a result of the ever-increasing drive for development and progress, substantial changes will take place during the next decade and the next. The impact of technology will be vast in the social and economic sphere, but the effect will be greater on the structure of intellectual life and the character of organisations.

Mathew Arnold said, "we must create a current of true and fresh ideas". Passivity results in moral, physical and intellectual stagnation and death. Man's inquiring mind and inventive spirit is at the root of his uniqueness and creativeness, and the world is the ideal milieu for the unfolding of his capacities and talents. Culture is activity of thought, receptiveness to beauty, and humane feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. The education of the '70s should aim at producing men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, their culture will lead them to a take-off as deep as philosophy, as high as art, as wide as economy.

As far as I can see, the first step in the nation's quest is the development of self-reliance, the mobilisation of human resources. This can be done only by having an educated, skilled and motivated population. Education should abandon its commitment to print or the merely focusing of the visual sense. Rather it should cultivate the total sensorium of man by teaching us how to use all the five senses instead of one.

In the agricultural sphere we have got off to a flying start and are nearly on the way to self-sufficiency. Automation, improved quality of seed, planned irrigation etc. have made the agricultural prospects of the '70s bright.

In the sphere of science and technology, it must be remembered that "all tools and engines on earth are only extensions of man's limbs and senses". But today we find ourselves in the shadow of our own creations, and slowly but surely the machine has edged man off his throne. Man has been reduced to the humble role of caretaker and carries out a monotonous round of supervisory chores. While welcoming and accepting superior tools, techniques and materials,



KHALID WAHEED

the nation would do well to effect necessary compromise, maintain the supremacy of man and his individuality over the machine and the supremacy of God over science, technology and everything else.

In medicine, undoubtedly, we have derived immense benefits, from the continuing development and multiplication of equipment. But we have lost the "human landscape" on the other hand and reduced the patient to the anonymity and identity of a punched card. We must journey back to the vision of the whole man, that balanced vision which is the best defence against narrow empiricism if we are to progress towards better health. This balanced vision is the pivotal point in Eastern Medicine.

The way for the '70s then lies in defining our priorities and making the necessary commitments. All the elements of strategy, however, can be of no avail, if we fail to act by our Islamic values and ideology, to have will and ingenuity, determination and perseverance, denial, restraint and sacrifice, courage and wisdom. Then only shall we see a shining vision—a vision of an Islamic welfare state, where the only fear is of wild animals and where there are none qualified to receive **Zakat**; *or as the late Lord Bertrand Russell says: "a nation where none are hungry, where few are ill, where work is pleasant not excessive, where kindly feeling is common, where minds released from fear, create delight for eye and ear and heart".*

Hakim Mohammed Said

THE UNFINISHED SYMPHONY

A NATION'S QUEST FOR THE '70s

Khalid Waheed

ECONOMISTS and experts have been rationalizing for years on the correlation between oft-quoted factors of growth and the actual process of development and growth. It seems, from thorough analysis and deep reflection, that these rationalizations have either intentionally or unintentionally been misleading us. They have not been altogether ignorant. Some of them have known for a long time but, as is now definitely and clearly evident, in most of the advice and literature aimed at us, they seem to have concertedly neglected the most vital link.

I audaciously include "intentions" in the misguidance because the correlations appear more definitely in such literature and works as are lesser known here and the cost of this anamoly has been exorbitant for our peoples, over nearly a quarter-century, in misery and poverty. This missing link began to be emphasized in researches and learned papers quite some years ago, yet for some reason or the other, most experts seem to have avoided acknowledging such lopsided emphasis and some have even gone to the extent, even currently of 'tongue-in-cheek' glossing over the importance of this link by dismissing it as a recent element.

I believe that the importance and essentiality, of isolating, identifying and pre-empting it, is such that no time must be lost in correcting our course. Every day that we continue off-track takes us farther from our objectives, and this heartless cruelty prolongs the suffering of our millions.

Land, machinery, race, resources, climate or capital as common denominators have each been belied by history. The phenomena

of each and every nation in their actual take-offs to their soaring orbits of affluence prove otherwise. Physical, natural, climatic, racial, religious, ethnic or geographic features must, in retrospect, all be absolved of the blame.

What now emerges, glaring, obvious and incontrovertible, is the one factor to which can be directly related all occurrences of the real take-off in growth and development; and this stands further proven by the many unfortunate instances where such takeoff has not taken place, due to the repression of, or obstacles to, this factor.

This "Missing Link" can be identified vividly in our own context. It is now abundantly proveable that all take-offs stemmed from the simple factor of **"INNOVATION".** Innovation in techniques; '*Creativity*'; A Problem Solving Approach; An '*Achievement Drive*'.

The degree of correlation between this direction of the intellect, the 'Achievement Drive' or 'Creative Drive' in a people, and the actual state of development reached by them, is virtually absolute.

Peoples, with little and mostly no basic resources, aid, or other material assets have rapidly developed to astounding levels of affluence and prosperity, surfeit with the tangibles by which development is measured.

"INNOVATIVENESS", 'Creativity' or the 'Achievement Drive', in this direct cause-effect relationship with progress and development, is as the sturdy backbone of a nation, raising its forelegs from the ground and proudly marching forward, on its two hind-legs, as God intended for Mankind. INNOVATION/CREATIVITY is presently almost non-existent in our society. Without it the nation merely marks time, labouring hard through sheer drudgery and toil; being frustrated by the accelerating population explosion, escalating demands and extreme poverty, merely to tread water while the gap between us and the rich nations is ever increasing.

This essential ingredient is the catalyst for growth that translates it into dazzling action and glorious reality.

'INNOVATION' as the manifestation of the 'Achievement Drive', is a seed that must not only be carefully nurtured, but protected and grown, to flower into the beautiful many-hued springtime of human achievement, laden with the fruit of our aspirations.

This priceless ingredient gifted to us by God, articulated so well by the Prophet of Islam, has been cast aside or externed by us, from our society and our plans, only recently. In the first thousand years of Islam, it was this creative intellectual orientation that sponsored the European Renaissance and built many of the pillars of modern day civilization. It is for the rebuilding of these very pillars in our own Islamic fashion that the 'Architect of Pakistan' sounded many a clarion call, but alas! he passed away before he could see that in our national construction, we did not stop at the outer shell of the structure of independence, emancipation from colonial rule, but went on to finish the edifice. It is in these finishing plans that lies the secret to our success.

To meet our needs, to transform our impoverished mass into healthy, prosperous, affluent citizens, setting out to fulfil their destiny, humanly enjoying a decent, meaningful life with leisure, peace of mind, health, strength and opportunity to exude their true values, to discover their true selves, to build a good society of unique individuals seeking to establish a communion with their Creator, we do not need to depend on AID, nor capital, nor labour in the classical sense, nor natural resources, nor materials but on the *human mind*. This amazing, complex mechanism is the richest mine of all which, when fully exploited in an appropriate climate, can yield miracles from sand and sea.

Riches of gold, saphires and other sparklers dissolve into secondary importance when the potentials of human ingenuity are tapped, when we set out to master our own destiny, shedding the last shackles of the retreatism and fatalism which we forged around us to adjust ourselves to subservience or rebellion under foreign masters.

A thousand silicones have been developed from sand, that supplant an astonishing range of materials, oils and plastics, even to human spare parts as delicate as the eye or the heart. The sea too has been discovered to be a storehouse of all that is required to sustain most of our material needs.

Normal development in its current state, no doubt, could continue inching on in its petty pace of fractional percentages, racing against the birth rate. But a real breakthrough, the leap forward required to lift us out of the morass of this past century, can come only from the creative effort of thinking individuals, from the innovation of new products and processes, creating new goods and services, for a population universally enjoying a decent standard of living.

It is now historically recognized that the unfolding of scientific thought, between 1500 and 1700 A.D. was critical in the creation of modern civilization as it is known in the West today.

This 'Scientific Revolution' was primarily an intellectual revolution that taught men to think differently. Later, this thought was put to new practical uses in the Industrial Revolution, which gave this civilization its outward character.

Whatever good or bad may be associated with Western Civilization now, in terms of its values and ideologies, this is not at issue. The social and moral aspects that we may find distasteful, have other roots. The affluence, the prosperity, the means to exist and to dominate the world, notwithstanding these values, had their roots in that Industrial Revolution, which was a manifestation of the more fundamental Scientific Revolution.

The fundamental change in Western Society which made all this possible, actually took its origin from the Muslim World as it was then, from the base of Muslim scientific achievement and Muslim thinking. It was almost solely the beacon of Islam and the influence of Islam on Europe that triggered the Renaissance, which has taken the world to its present position today. Islamic influence on the West was a far sight different to the kind of Imperialism that subjugated us.

W. W. Rostow, in pinpointing this phenomenon in modern terminology, states that the take-off in Western Europe can be placed in the late 17th century as the insights of modern science began to be translated into new production functions in both agriculture and industry.

This leads us to the necessity to determine: *What it takes to transform a society in the ways necessary for it to exploit the fruits of modern science, to fend off diminishing returns, and enjoy the blessings and choices opened up by the march of progress.*

In our case, the entire approach of colonization and of development as well as our reaction or response to it was different. Directed towards extraction of raw materials in which other nations had an economic interest, the scope of commerce widening, some small manufacturing enterprise did appear, using imported methods. Proceeding at a slow pace, the economy and society is still mainly characterized by traditional low-productivity methods, by the old social structure, values and political institutions, that we forged around us in self-defence, to innure us from complete mental and moral subjugation.

Rostow, in tracing the history of British and other countries that are now rich, such as the United States, Germany, Japan, etc., states that the more proximate stimulus for take-off came from a surge of technological development in industry and agriculture, alongwith the emergence to political power, of a group prepared to regard the modernization of the economy as serious, high-order, political business.

During this take-off, NEW Industries expanded rapidly, yielding high profits, a large proportion of which were re-invested in new plant. These *new* industries, in turn, stimulated, through their rapidly expanding work force, the services to support them, and for other manufactured goods exploiting previously unused natural resources and methods of production.

The histories of these countries indicate that the take-off was followed by sustained progress, the growing economies driving to extend modern technology over the whole front of their economic activity. The make-up of the economy changed unceasingly as techniques improved, new industries accelerated and older industries levelled off.

Society adjusted to the requirements of modern efficient production, balancing off the new with the older values and institutions,

revising them in such ways as to support rather than to retard the growth process.

During the take-off, the economy focussed around a relatively narrow complex of industry and technology, but rapidly extended its range into more refined and more complex processes.

Rostow goes on to define 'Maturity' as the stage in which an economy demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered its take-off, and to absorb and to apply efficiently, over a very wide range of its resources, the most advanced fruits of technology. At this stage the economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skills to produce *anything that it chooses to produce.*

Discontent and the generation gap is not entirely new. Civilized man has eternally been spurred by discontent to incessant endeavour towards new achievement. Each generation necessarily becomes one of "discontents".

The manner of adjustment of each generation is, however, changing. As Man has more control over his environment, he is always seeking to change it and always changing it. The more he modifies the environment, the more he is impelled to modify it still further, leading to a state of continuous flux.

History is witness to the constant change that besets all societies. Nothing changes so rapidly before our very eyes as the works of man, and particularly the social structures which he builds particularly as the ways change in which human beings relate themselves to one another. There are processes which all institutions and organizations must undergo, transforming the social structure and the forces that bring them about. Every change in man's relation to his environment means some change in his relation to his fellows.

In modifying his environment, man sets up a double process of social change. Certain social relationships are imposed on him by his civilization, others are imposed by him on his civilization. In one case we may increasingly seek for the original and true values of Islam as pivots while we transform our civilization, anchoring it to this reality so that the transformation is ever one for good.

The advance of science reveals new sources and kinds of power that promise to extend man's control beyond all previous concepts. If the earlier industrial revolution provoked vast social changes, the current transition is bound to bring more transformations. For example, it is becoming obvious that all our present economic systems, whether we call them socialist or capitalist, are rapidly becoming obsolete the world over, being unable to keep pace with the changing needs. *They are constantly changing and shifting towards a convergence.* We are blessed by a system perfect as God-given, the one that is bound also to be found eventually by those seeking the ideal point of convergence in their disillusionments with the other two classical concepts.

In utilizing his techniques, man provokes social changes far more extensive and profound than intended. The social repercussions of technological advance are so far-reaching and so momentous that some sociologists, such as Veblen, now regard them as '*the main explanation of social change*'.

Every change in the processes of production involves a new alignment of the human-beings engaged in it. Man's desire is ever to express his self; every new invention changes his opportunity to do so and thereby brings about changes in the social system. Technological change is such a powerful source of social change, particularly in modern society, due to a major difference between a 'primitive' and a 'civilized' society. This is that in a modern society a great many things become merely or purely utilitarian, instruments or *means*. When anything is thought of merely as a means, people try to improve it as a means, constantly experimenting with it to make it more efficient. On the other hand 'primitive' minds or minds *not* achievement-oriented such as many of ours, still tradition bound in retreatism, regard the techniques and instruments of everyday use as something fixed and unchanging, as an end in itself. (A little reflection will indicate myriad examples, T.V., automobiles, various natural resources).

CHANGING TECHNIQUES AND CHANGING SOCIETY

The development of new techniques and inventions has wrought a new civilization, followed by far-reaching social changes, basic

changes necessary to, concomitant to and also on balance resultant from these developments, include higher specialization of all tasks, time-prescribed routines of work and time consciousness, acceleration of the general tempo of living, the intensification of competition, the obsolescence of older craftsmanship, the development of the technician and machine operative and the expansion of economic frontiers. None of these is in any way at variance with our ideology. Deeper adjustments which may also partly be inspired by our Faith, and not erode it, include the transformation of class structures, a radical selective change in local folkways and folklore, and the transformation of the neighbourhood, the breaking up of and replacement of the old family caste and '*bradri*' systems, the increasing dominance of urban ways, the spread of individual awareness, the growth of democracy and the challenge to authority or demand for participation by organized groups such as the organizations of labour, and of students.

It is essential to understand how real, and how important an agency of social change is the quest of man to discover and to utilize new techniques, new and more efficient methods of accomplishing his ends.

Every technological advance, by making possible certain results with less effort or at less cost, provides new opportunities and establishes new conditions of life. The new conditions of life result from the necessary and unanticipated adjustments to the new opportunities.

For example, the advance of agricultural technology, improvements in the use of fertilizers, in the varieties of seed, in mechanical devices, etc., have had as their direct objective the increase in the quantity and quality of agricultural production already changing our village life and ways extensively.

Every technological advance inaugurates a series of changes that interact with others emanating from the whole technological system. The radio, for example, affects the family and combines with other technological changes to reduce cultural differential of social classes and of urban and rural communities.

Technology asserts itself always, in the same direction, attaining ever greater efficiency in the performance of each of various functions. In doing so it specializes functions more and more, and tends to create an ever-increasing division of effort, with the social consequences dependant thereon. More certain is the more elaborate social organization, higher interdependence and greater mobility of the members with respect to location and to occupation.

It may be said that every major problem of modern society is either initiated by or strongly affected by technological change.

The feudal order, for example, represented "a system of manpower organized on a plan of subordination of man to man". In industry what counts is, in the language of Adam Smith, the "skill, dexterity, and judgment of the individual worker". But gradually the technological basis of this system is transformed, mechanical power taking the place of human power. New skills arrive and old skills pass away for the vocations of the designer, the engineer, the machine tender, call for aptitudes, other than "dexterity". The idea of power itself changes, from the arbitrary power of personal command, of will over will, to the regulated power of man over machine. Man as master begins to achieve that human dignity which is as different as is the mechanical drudgery of pack animals.

One of the restraining factors in achieving this evolution is that of technological restraint. The introduction of more efficient instruments, methods, or agencies, are impeded or balked by controls designed to protect some established interest. Inertia, tradition, or prestige of an established order may pose the introduction of more efficient methods or techniques. The resistance of governmental departments to the employment of less wasteful and more efficient procedures is an old story. Some entrenched economic interests, faced with a threat to profits or other advantages accruing to it, may oppose the exploitation of new processes or new methods. The bureaucratic and the economic determinants often combine.

Secondly the restraint may be determined by *Cultural Interest*, represented by situations where a new technology is imported to areas or countries habituated to a simpler long-established technology. The older technology is thoroughly fused into the pre-

vailing culture in such a way that the introduced technology threatens in part or in whole the cultural life itself. This technological restraint is intimately related to two other phenomena. New technology was in colonial days and is even now sometimes associated with alien domination and this incurred widespread resistance. This resistance which became part of our pseudo-culture continues to oppose to some extent the advance of civilization. Our true task is now to accept and to direct that advance, controlling it to serve our true cultural ends. Only thus can the maladjustments of culture and civilization be reconciled.

Fear of alien technology was genuine as we feared that with it would be introduced alien values, different standards, different goals.

The second phenomena is *the directional role of culture*. It has been realized, particularly by seers such as Allama Iqbal, that the cultural factor not only responds to technological change, but also acts back on it so as to influence its direction and its character.

Technological change as such does not prescribe the specific direction of cultural change, but instead opens up a variety of alternatives. The results of higher technological achievement and efficiency means that less toil is needed for the satisfaction of primary organic needs. The organic needs of food, shelter, warmth are relatively satiable. A surplus of energy and of wealth is thus made available, for the satisfaction of various cultural demands.

Perhaps the greatest and certainly the hardest task that faces us today is to discover how, through the cooperative application of intelligence, we can advance and redirect to the service of common ends, the elaborate complex of material means and social institutions to which we have fallen heir.

THE QUALITY OF CREATIVITY

Everett E. Hagen, writing "On the Theory of Social Change", describes INNOVATION both as arriving at a new mental concept and at converting that concept into action or into material form. In technological innovation the conversion may involve only design or

rearrangement of some items of physical equipment. Or, it may involve the organization of a group of human beings that puts a new concept into practice. Both steps in innovation are creative acts, and such creative activity involves problem-solving in a high degree.

Some types of innovation will involve overcoming resistance by other persons; others will not. An individual will not innovate in a sphere in which he finds dissatisfaction in working. Thus, in addition to creativity, attitudes favourable to working in one or another field are necessary for innovation in that field.

Innovation requires creativity, the term "creativity" does not refer to genius but to the quality of creativity in general, in whatever degree it may be found in a given individual.

The major qualities that constitute creativity are easily listed as: openness to experience, and underlying this, a tendency to perceive phenomena as explainable; creative imagination, of which the central part is the ability to let one's unconscious processes work on one's behalf; confidence in one's own judgements; satisfaction in facing and attacking problems; a sense of duty to achieve; intelligence; energy; and often, related to these, an understanding. The creative person is alert in observing the world around him.

Creative imagination is the tendency to leap far afield from a starting point, to note relationships where others had not thought to find them. It embraces the capacity to use an interesting or unsatisfactory situation as a springboard from which one's imagination roams and then returns to the matter at hand with a workable idea for the reconstruction or transformation of that unsatisfactory situation; and the capacity to let one's purely unconscious processes work on a problem.

Creative individuals are those who primarily respond productively. The creative individual is not afraid of his unconscious processes, and their results appear in his conscious mind. He trusts his own evaluations of them. He feels satisfaction at the prospect of testing his capacities against a problem and is drawn toward the attempt.

The innovator not only feels pleasure in solving problems, he also feels a duty to achieve, a personal responsibility to transform the world that far surpasses a profit motive.

The creative individual is not necessarily a happy man who faces problems with pure pleasure. Rather, according to Hagen, most creative individuals are driven to creative activity by an incessant anxiety.

The characteristics which channel and release creativity into one field or another include one's values concerning activities, one's anxieties or satisfactions in relationships with other men, and the scale of activity or influence in which one feels content or secure.

The choice of technology, or the science of industrial arts, as a field in which to innovate requires one or another of certain combinations of these attitudes.

Sociologists point out that in contrast, in general the authoritarian personality of traditional society is uncreative. Many characteristics of authoritarian personality are simply the negatives of characteristics of the creative individual, his unconscious processes are unproductive. A traditional society presents strong resistance to the questioning of authoritative decisions or traditional ways. That resistance is an important obstacle to change, and can, it seems, be transmitted from one generation to another as children are brought up in authoritarian type homes.

Attitudes inculcated in colonial days, or in the need for revolutionary struggle for independence linger and are preserved from one generation to another. A son is likely to acquire his father's values and attitudes toward life as the son understands them. If the father regards business as a dirty and unpleasant vocation—so will the son. Attitudes towards work with the hands, with tools, towards intellectual activity and exploring the physical world, are similarly around us.

If the social change that occurs is to be a transition to economic growth, it is necessary that values, which lead men to find economic and technological innovation interesting, should appear in their per-

sonalities. This need for amendment in values is not only immediate but a quarter century overdue and must needs to be keynoted at once.

If we can urgently create in cultural circumstances in which creative individuals see technological skill as a promising path to satisfaction of their needs, the values of the new generation will be likely to turn in this direction. Innovations in production will then appear, innovational individuals will guide institutional reforms in favourable directions, and economic growth will gain speed.

The size of markets and the amount of savings available will dissolve to secondary influence on the rate of growth when there are innovators to take advantage of them. These economic factors are not as important as a *force causing economic growth to begin*. In traditional society, in which nothing else has yet occurred to change, traditional personality and culture, if any available, is not likely to cause continuing change in technology. The force that starts economic growth and encourages new technology is not a change in economic conditions, but a change in personality.

As long as the traditional activity of an individual's family and group satisfy him, if by following them he can keep his place in the society and be respected, he has no reason to seek a new way of life or change his values. Thus a blocking of traditional channels may be an important factor to influence the creation of economic growth in a traditional society.

If a group or class suffers withdrawal of status and respect and becomes non-conforming, its members will reassure and protect each other in their new personalities, greatly increasing the prospect of effective innovation in technology or human relations. When respect is withdrawn from one course of action, they are likely to direct their energies rapidly to a new one to acquire respect.

Being looked upon as inferior and having our traditional society disrupted by the colonial conquerors created intense emotional pressures on our subject people.

Our feudal classes and bureaucrats held all this status and respect as "*Namberdar*s" and *Babus*". The fact, that the orient domi-

nators held technological activity and commerce in high value, was enough to cause our national or native-born groups to reject these in defence of their own identity.

Basic social change, especially a transition to economic growth, usually involves withdrawal of acceptance or respect from a group well-rooted in the society.

The identification of such values with colonialism induced a retreatist personality in most members of our society. The conflict caused intense anxiety, as well as rage that it was necessary to repress, contributing to the building of authoritarian personalities.

In our drive for independence we could not set a high value on using our energies in attacking the problems of industrial production or other modern business activity, because that was a European value, and along with it went the fact that the Europeans looked down on us as inferior.

Since acceptance of European values was such a threat, we protected ourselves to building-up and clinging to traditional values. By holding to the idea that physical labour is humbling, that an elite individual is interested in cultural learning, that one's status determines one's worth, a member of the traditional elite could protect himself to some extent from the contempt of the European.

This was the reaction of the normal traditional individual in Indian society toward Western values.

Although colonial rule has laid a material base for economic growth, it created psychological barriers more important and lasting in their effects.

Creative individuals, who did emerge while the area was still under alien rule, would not imitate the economic activity of the colonial masters because that would have been acceptance of the master's values. They instead sought innovation of a distinctly different type by directing their energies into other activities, such as the attainment of independence now. Even after the end of colonial rule economic growth is not likely to become vigorous until a basic change

in our personality has occurred. Creativity can emerge out of retreatism on a fairly large scale, and the creative individuals may see in economic skill their best opportunity to prove their worth, within a very short period, provided leadership and effort is devoted to securing this basic change in our public personality.

Much thought, hue and cry and many demands and counter-demands have been put into reforming education. While financial resources to be devoted to education by the government can be expected to be greatly increased, the imaginative attention paid to the design of the educational system, to meet our economic development needs, has been absent or far short of what is required.

There is even an inadequate recognition of the extent to which the whole educational process requires reorientation, and this is much more urgent than money. The problems are more intellectual than financial. We need a massive effort to focus the best and most imaginative minds of both the public and private sectors cooperatively on the problems of the redesign of education for development.

It is becoming more and more evident that not only the economists but educators and officials have neglected the significance of the role of innovation in the development process. Economists, in their theoretical models of economic growth, have tended to base their project on the accumulation, savings and investment of capital in the physical sense. Recent statistical studies of growth in the United States have suggested that less than half of it is attributable to physical capital formation. The greater part comes from increases in productivity, based on an acceleration of invention. It is my conviction that the development of innovative activity to a similar level is a necessary condition for our development and that education must be more explicitly redesigned to promote this.

This need for creative innovation, in the development process, can only begin to be met by drastically reoriented education. One of the central goals of education should be a rapid expansion in the capacities of people at all levels for problem-solving and for taking a rationally inventive approach to the issues confronting them.

Educational product has, during not only the colonial but also the independent era, placed even more emphasis on rote learning, and preparation for fixed subject-matter examinations, and memorization of a body of knowledge of limited relevance to our particular local needs and of even less relevance to the needs of the changing times.

For more imaginative innovation in educational techniques themselves is required to develop them to our needs and accept them to the limitations of our resources and to exploit the opportunities of our environment.

New methods, new principles, and even new gadgets must be found that will make it possible to achieve the educational objectives essential to growth with inputs of resources which we can afford. For example, anything, which can significantly shorten the time required to bring a student to a given educational level, will be helpful. Effective innovation can be applied to the design of inexpensive educational aids

Education may sustain at instilling a capability for, and bringing a combination of reason and observation to bear on everyday problems of man's relation with the physical world. We must develop the elementary teaching of science, mathematics, and technology with relevance to local conditions, both for children and adults.

The generation now entering school will have to cope with a world totally different from the one in which we now live. The educational problem is not to train them to substitute our present answers, but rather to give them the tools and an attitude of mind with which to work out answers of their own.

When change is as fast as it is, a more flexible and adaptable labour force is required. This in turn calls for a fundamental kind of education which equips a man with a thorough understanding what he is doing, and enable him to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances.

The key role for education at all levels is, therefore, not the transmission of a mass of knowledge but the inculcation of a spirit of

inquiry, a capacity for analysis of new problems, and a willingness to set out into the unknown.

Another requirement is education for innovation and innovation in education.

The problem cannot be solved merely by transferring techniques from the developed countries but only by developing a base of educational technology of our own.

The classical trinity of productive factors were land in addition to nature's resources, labour and capital. All production was seen as combination of these in one proportion or another.

But now increasingly, progress is coming to depend on the quality rather than the quantity of the capital equipment in use and on the intelligence and skill of those who use it.

In the developed countries *more than half of the growth* is the result of improvements in equipment and techniques that is to technological improvement and to the improved skill and ability of workers, technicians and managers.

But technological advance and improved skills and abilities are only the product of personal development.

Machines do not improve themselves, they require the work of highly improved men. Most technological advance is, therefore, the result of purposeful effort.

So it comes to this. The developed countries owe industrial growth not to mere capital investment, but to improvements in men, and improvements brought about by men.

The mass of information readily available today is truly fantastic. The people, who can rapidly begin to use this information and the world of the computer, are bound to forge ahead.

Our people must come to be recognized as individuals, as famous futurist 'de Jouvenel' puts it: "You have to acknowledge man as a human being. If you forget this, you lose everything."

Amongst principal elements that can result in this atmosphere are effective bureaucratic units, along with revamping of outdated political geography, the sub-division of large areas or regions into rational developmental self-growing units, and a need for imaginative, inspirational leadership.

Politically as well as philosophically, the dominant question of the '70's will be the quality of human life. The prospect is that man in the next decade may not be crowded into marginal existence by famine. Yet his ability to control depredation of the earth's shrinking resources will remain uncertain, even as it is today.

In the next ten years, the experts predict an extraordinary rise in farm productivity coupled with the gain from the land, man will have the technical ability to farm the sea instead of simply harvesting it; scientists believe that they will soon be able to breed and control fish and shellfish in large quantities and to cultivate underwater plants.

Whether hunger is eliminated, however, depends also upon the mechanics of transport and distribution—a problem for politicians and economists, not for farmers.

The very definition of man has changed from that of a creature established once and for ever in its degree, into that of a restless wanderer engaged upon an unending adventure. Time has become an onrushing stream which carries away all attempts at metaphysical consolidation. Yet, as those rapids are of our own making, so can we too devise the art for steering our way through them. The art whereby the true is decisively separated from the false, and knowledge and ignorance, such knowledge as transmutes itself irresistibly into great power.

The New Age implies man's "high estate", leaving the drudgery to the machine and to docile animals, permitting man that luxurious yet essential cloak of Human Dignity embroidered with venture, risk, responsibility, freedom and tolerance.

Here, then, is the new orientation: creative poetry, "Human Dignity", the ability to combine knowledge with a capacity to trans-

form things. Man is no longer the submissive self, the meek and docile nature, but is a transformer, the changer placed almost at pinnacle of absolute power, a free force taking consciousness of self and seeking communion with God.

This decade must release effectively, the independent individual intellectual personality endowed with the fundamentals of the scientific method whereby any individual, without having to be a genius, can find a place in which his contribution is meaningful as it dovetails with that of others to bring forth the imposing edifice dreamt of by Iqbal and Jinnah and by the millions who sacrificed all to lay the foundation of PAKISTAN.

In physical and development planning we still overlook the most valuable resource—the inquiring mind and inventive spirit of people.

No sets of figures, however arrayed, can begin to show what this hidden resource means. Innovators have saved countless lives, built many of the mighty industries that drive the developed world, provided millions of jobs and the affluence enjoyed by them. Had they been less inquisitive, less creative, they might still be with us in the "*tonga*" and "*gudda*" era instead of groping toward the stars.

Some glimmering idea of the specific impact of invention can be gained by looking at two relatively recent and mundane developments, the Polaroid camera and the Xerox process for dry copying, each of over Rs. 500 crores or the equivalent of 10% of our GNP and a combined work force exceeding 30,000. One single company in the computer field is producing goods and services worth half our GNP. And these three items are, after all, only droplets in the torrent of invention.

It has become a ceaseless torrent, but one whose currents shift and change.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Invention is tailored to need in most cases. It is time that we developed our appreciation of that hidden resources of the inventive mind and the fact that this is potentially the most vital force in *shaping* our society.

It is usually impossible to put a specific value on the importance of a single invention. But a look at Xerox Corp, and Polaroid Corp. gives a reasonably clear idea of what the impact of an idea can be.

In the case of Xerox, an independent inventor laboured in a closet laboratory of his one-room apartment, and invented the dry process photocopying method that has made Xerox a giant international corporation. Polaroid owes its existence to its founder, who dreamed of instant developing of photographs inside the camera.

The process, not the gadgetry, is the important thing. What we think of an invention the chances are we think of a machine, but most of the valuable inventions deal with processes, not nuts and bolts creations as ends. New machines often must be created to make the processes work economically but basically they are servants to the main conception—a better plan for making or doing something. And such plans have had a dramatic impact on the production of everything.

Process invention has been at the root of the creation of entire industries, and is what greatly improves the efficiency of others.

Accidental invention or luck may also be a factor enriching an economy. However, luck does little for those who don't recognize an opportunity when they see one. As Louis Pasteur put it :

> "In the fields of observation, chance favours only minds that are prepared."

This recognition requires a climate of awareness.

All periods are of transition, but some are more transitional than most. Just as the Renaissance became a quick rush along the whole front, urged on by staggering innovations which could not be grasped in their full import, a surge which grew into an unending wave of the scientific era, we need a Renaissance to wrench us away from these quicksands, through intellectual coherence, an obstinate effort to transform old systems, enriching them with new elements, without losing the essential ideals we hold from our faith.

What stands out in the Renaissance is the critical revision and creative thought embodied in powerful personalities who work out a momentary cosmos of their own. The Renaissance carried the discovery of the initiative of man as the creator of his fortunes.

The values that derive from truth are sacred to our civilization. Science, in search of truth, gives us an immense command in the affairs of nature.

Truth is not the monopoly of science, and the values that derive from truth are basic with us, and our forefathers' contribution to the Scientific Revolution.

A society which believes that the truth needs no more seeking is not only dogmatic but authoritarian and retrogressive. By contrast a society seeking development must be organized and dedicated to the discovery of truth. We must, therefore, learn to value originality of mind and independence of character, and in order to safeguard this we have to begin by placing a value on dissent. Dissent in turn must be protected by justice and by freedom of thought, of speech and writing, of movement and assembly.

We must not take these for granted. Freedom is valued in a culture that encourages dissent and stimulates originality and independence. It belongs to a society which is open to change, and which esteems the agent of change, the individual, above its own peace of mind.

The values that truly engage our lives do not end at truth. It is truth as knowledge, the endless pursuit, that generates the values of science. And it is the 'self' as knowledge, the expanding reach, that confronts these values and has to find a common aspiration with them.

Yet the search for knowledge in nature generates values as rich as we get by reaching for the knowledge of self. When we pursue knowledge for action we learn a special respect for a man's work. And when we look into another man for knowledge of ourselves, we learn a more intimate respect for him as a man. Our pride in man and nature together, in the nature of man, grows by this junction into a single sense: the sense of human dignity.

THE ECONOMICS OF TECHNOLOGY

This is not about technology as such but about 'The Economics of Technology'.

During the '50's we saw the biggest economic transformation of any the world has yet known. West Germany moved rapidly from its war-torn shambles into a sleek, efficient, affluent society, which now ranks second in the West in gross output.

There can always be room for argument about desirable rates of growth, and about the reconciliation of growth with other objectives. But we have to face the fact that no regime which does not succeed in enriching its people over the years will survive in the modern world except by virtue of bayonets or repression, nor will it deserve to survive. In all countries and continents of the world, men have seen visions of a better and richer life, and they will not rest until they see these visions realized. This is commonly known as the revolution of rising expectations.

We need faster rate of economic growth for many reasons to enable us to play our part in meeting the challenge of poverty, to meet our own individual and collective needs for better material conditions; needs constantly stimulated by an increasing exposure to conditions elsewhere, to meet the growing social needs of modern society—the needs of our old, our sick, our children, the need to improve and rebuild the basic infra-structure of our society, our cities, our schools, our roads and hospitals; and to enable our country to hold its own in the community of nations, strong and independent; we need it to maintain our national self-respect. Growth, therefore, is of paramount importance.

I believe that a climate of steady expansion, without inflationary pressures or sharp fluctuations of demand, provides the best conditions for innovation, for the improvement of business efficiency, and for the dissolution of conflict between management and labour. It is in these conditions that change becomes most acceptable and most profitable.

What lessons emerge from the world's experience of the technological revolution of the last few years? First, the problem is not

the pace of discovery but the pace of its application, the speed with which new ideas, techniques and inventions can be diffused through industry and society and absorbed. This is partly a question of improving our techniques for the dissemination of information. It is significant that the last few years have seen the emergence of a completely new specialist expertise in the shape of the information-scientist, whose function is not to discover new things but, equally valuable, to find out what has been discovered elsewhere which could be relevant to his own country or organization, and to see that research work being done in his institution is not duplicated by work done elsewhere. The problem of organizing the production of research to minimize waste of effort is becoming increasingly serious as its volume increases.

One of the necessary antidotes to this sclerosis of thinking is greater mobility.

Two forces promoting mobility, of men and ideas, are the use of consultants and the growth of management education. The importance of management education is that it provides managers with a common framework of knowledge and ideas and a common 'language'. In this way it facilitates movement, because it enables a man to apply what he has been taught in a new and unexpected situation.

The role of the consultants and the contract research firms in spreading techniques and technology, in cross-fertilizing and catalysing, is apparent.

The research association, is a via media between the pure research of the university laboratory and the R & D Department of the individual firm which must be ruled by the profit-and-loss account.

The diffusion of technology requires, above all else, the breaking down of man-made barriers—barriers between specialisms, barriers between pure and applied research, between industry and university, between different departments in the big corporation, and so on.

Some countries also have the advantage of being culturally much more business-oriented and the general level of awareness of business

is far higher. The intellectual who is proud of the fact that he does not know the first thing about business or has nothing to do with it is here still a depressingly common figure.

The other great lesson which management and administration still has to learn in many cases is the need to think, not in terms of product, but in terms of function: not in terms of telephones, for example, but of communications—not railways but transportation. They do not start by asking themselves the basic question: 'Why am I doing this'? 'What am I trying to achieve'?

As a financier of research, as a buyer of technology, as a climate-setter, the role of the state, in promoting innovation, is inescapable.

Few leading administrative civil servants have had direct experience of work in industry. Most departments are not ready to recruit specialists, or to give sufficient responsibility in policy-making to those they employ.

Freer movement, it has been argued, not only makes for a more efficiently operated ideas and techniques which, as we have seen, is one of the main requirements for successful innovation. Our technological development has suffered from the traditional undervaluation of technology in our educational system and philosophy.

The administrative argument is that there has been insufficient cross-fertilization of idea and experience between government, industry, the professions and the educational system, that there has been excessive compartmentalization between the different sectors of our national life. It is now almost universally accepted that if the experiment in planning is to continue, if we are to continue to operate a mixed economy with a substantial degree of governmental involvement in industry, if we are to accelerate the successful application of technology, we need a greater degree of mobility of ideas and people.

We should now seek ways of institutionalizing the mutual secondment of people between industry and government. Government should move increasingly out of the somewhat monastic seclusion in which its mysteries have traditionally been practised.

Stimulating potential community leaders to think creatively is an essential task. I feel that one step could be the setting up of multisector large-scale academies in all major cities for accelerated short courses for leaders in all fields.

In a field where no precedent exists, and where there is no time for preliminary experiment, we have to identify subject fields relevant to our needs; devise such advanced training programmes for people who are already practising in their chosen fields, to concentrate on the most modern techniques—new management methods, automated data processing, education technology, electronics, uptodate factory procedures, nuclear installation maintenance, the educational uses of satellites, and so on.

In preparing an overall form for such academies, we should follow modern, educational practice, an attempt must be made to define as accurately as possible the attitudes to be developed, and the knowledge to be transmitted.

We have to adopt the policy of bringing about desirable changes in participants' attitudes, instead of simply stuffing their minds with facts. If social, economic and technological development depends on creative initiative, this is what these academies should aim to inspire.

Each developing country has to find its own road to progress; the experience of the older nations is not entirely relevant to its circumstances, it ought not and simply cannot be copied.

Here seems to be a chance to promote the development of our Third World, to give an impetus for sweeping advances by the use of relatively modest resources. It would encourage managers and vocational instruction specialists, talented men in their thirties and early forties on the threshold of community leadership, to adopt a more dynamic approach to problems; to be able to analyse situations and discover new relationships between existing factors to develop an appetite for knowledge. New facts and information can always be acquired later. The essential preparation of the mind would be given first priority.

Establishment of a range of training programmes falling into three main groups: Management (for senior and middle level executives of enterprises and administrations); the management and methodology of training (for directors and senior training officers of vocational training institutions); and vocational instruction (for instructors specialising in the most modern branches of technological teaching).

To encourage the habit of analysis and synthesis, discussions should be based on concrete cases, to establish rules by comparison of opinions, to stimulate conceptual thinking and to develop practical applications. Participants should, for example, design and build a machine tool, taking into account local resources; such as the replacement of a casting (the industrial country's solution to certain problems) by a welded component (which is cheaper and lighter, yet does the same job).

Students at all levels should be encouraged to test the modern techniques they are taught against their relevance to our problems, and to consider how they may be adapted to our normal working environments. It is hoped that such training can produce competent, confident, creative people.

Management awareness is a crucial factor in development. The anticipation of all the implications of innovation, sociological as well as economic must be a paramount duty of modern management. Modern creative management of huge, complex phenomena is impossible without both the technical equipment and technical skills which the advance of human knowledge has brought us. It is now widely felt that the technical gap is misnamed. It is not so much a technological gap as it is a managerial gap.

In fact top management holds the keys to the doors of progress. During recent years the problem of managerial resources has assumed such great importance that we feel that greater emphasis must now be placed on management skills.

For far too long, the problem of economic development has been connected in our minds with the sole problem of capital investment. Every time we thought of industrialisation, we thought first

in terms of investment in plant, machinery and equipment and secondly of the training of those who will be responsible for the technical aspects of its operation—the engineers, technicians and direct operatives.

There can be no question that given the existing levels of available manpower, the process of industrialization would go ahead faster and the production of the country would be greater than it is, if modern management methods were more widely employed than is presently the case. The application of modern management techniques can lead to considerable increases in output with little or no additional investments in equipment.

Judging by the attention now being given to the education and training of managers there will be a shortage of effective general and functional managers for some time to come.

Finally, new technology has no value unless it is used. Resistance to innovation, where it exists within management, still has to be overcome.

Procedural problems must be solved. For example should developments paid for by public funds such as in CSIR or Defence Labs. be handed over to one company. On the other hand, no company can be expected to spend money on such development without some sort of exclusivity.

"God distributes brain power universally but He expects us to do something efficient and constructive with that priceless gift. That is what management is all about. Its medium is human capacity, and its most fundamental task is to deal with change. It is that through which social, political, economic, technological change, indeed a change in every dimension, is rationally spread through society".

Another possible solution to bring talent to the face could be the training of paraprofessional workers at schools, hospitals and other community agencies.

This requires an amount of audacity. This paraprofessional organization should be empowered to grant an Associate of Arts degree.

Adult candidates for such a degree need not even have finished high school, and should require much less academic work than would qualify them for admission to conventional colleges.

A mix of academic work and on-the-job training similar in many respects to work-study programmes, may be setup. What these graduates may lack in academic finesse, they may more than make up in experience.

I fear that conventional colleges and universities at present serve mainly to perpetuate an elite, too much emphasis being placed on a lock-step system of education that makes everybody progress at the same rate.

Higher education in this country is in danger of losing touch with reality. What we should try to create is a means of harnessing education to our needs.

A key to our problems may be upward mobility. Without a recognized degree, many are consigned to essentially menial jobs, leaving little incentive for adults to take studies seriously.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
3 March, 1970.

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[illegible]-Standard, Rawalpindi.
1 March, 1970.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. I. AKRAM

I deem it a pleasant privilege to have to welcome you all here, on behalf of the Hamdard National Foundation as well as on my own. This gathering owns a singular significance because of the pious objective behind. Participation by luminaries and litterateurs of your stature has further enhanced its purposive attraction. Seen thus, this Sham-i-Hamdard *should, I am sure, prove to be one of those* 'Shams' *which you would not like to forget.*

The topic for today's discourse is the campaign of Khalid Bin-al-Waleed, a name unforgettable in the annals of war and victory. None, interested in the heroes of Islam, can affard to think of him without veneration, pride and admiration. All acclaim his bravery, foresight and dynamic strategy. In fact, the remarkable feats of military wisdom and the countless victories scored on the battlefield by General Khalid have left indelible marks through pages of history, and he has earned homage from friends and foes alike. Muslims throughout the world still derive warmth and inspiration from examples of his prowess and calculation. As for military commanders and warriors in battle-fields, no matter where they be, or the faith they profess, their tributes to Khalid's unfailing strategy and military leadership have always been irresistible.

Many an epic chapter in the history of wars won by Muslims, has till this day, remained in obscurity and may creep into oblivion. However, the time has come to bring those dusty pages to light. Let the world recapture what were once, grim facts, true and terrific. In my humble view military history-writing has three vital aspects:

First is the record-taking exercise straight on the battle-field by superior strategist-observers, engaged on the task with religious fervour and a valiant faith.

Second is when the historian narrates in accurate detail all major and minor events and episodes in chronological sequence.

Third and the final stage comes when the war events are analysed critically by those, well-versed in the science of warfare and militarism.

None of these aspects is in any way unimportant. Nevertheless, the last mentioned one, deserves maximum scrutiny. Unfortunately, as far as the Muslims' exclusive military confrontations and battle-plans are concerned, they have been more ignored than evaluated, although history is replete with the heroic achievements of Muslim warriors and their great unparallelled generals and commanders. A closer study of the victorious Muslim strategists has been more than overdue at the present stage of our national resuscitation. The reason for the astonishing gap manifest in the chronological survey of the Muslim warriors' contributions to the advancement of military science is not traceable to any dearth of expert intelligence in Muslim chroniclers, nor should anybody assume that the Muslim generals, who wielded the sword, failed to wield the pen. The situation, therefore, calls for a reappraisal and here is today, from this platform, an invitation to think seriously to all history-minded intellectuals of our truth-loving society.

Khalid Bin-al-Waleed was undoubtedly a great soldier, an able general and a perfect statesman. Looking back to the almost non-existent transport and troop-movement facilities during the early Islamic period, the General's lightning invasions of far-off territories, and successful annexations, sound today like miracles. Unmindful of numerical disparities, he always fell on the enemy with only a handful of the faithful, and Allah rewarded him with victory after victory, for the cause of Islam. His own strength of conviction, which was bred by his indomitable faith in Islam, and in the behests of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) proved an unfailing armour to himself as also an invincible force to his selfless comrades-in-arms. His belief in the ultimate victory of Islam was his arsenal which alone enabled him to face the might of the old Iranian emperors. Even the most organised enemies of Islam could not stand General Khalid's onslaughts and were completely routed. He it was, who ultimately earned the coveted title of Saifullah *from no less an admirer than the Holy Prophet himself (peace be on him).*

It is against this noteworthy back-ground that I greet Major-General A.I. Akram for his keen interest in the important subject. It is indeed a good augury. The worthy Major-General deserves commendation for his kind presence here and for the choice of his subject, "Khalid Bin-al-Waleed's Conquest of Damascus". I am really grateful for his participation as Guest Speaker in this Sham-i-Hamdard.



MAJOR-GENERAL A. I. AKRAM

As you all know, Major-General Akram is Military Secretary, General Headquarters. He has to his credit research work on early Muslim military history. He is a widely travelled scholar-soldier who has undertaken study tours to the Arab countries and has carried on a deep survey of the battle-fields of Islam. On General Khalid Bin-al-Waleed, his studies have been intensive so that in writing a book on the "Campaigns of Hazrat Khalid Bin-al-Waleed", he has already spent five long years. The valuable work has been completed and is already in print and may be out by March, 1970. *That way, our Guest Speaker, being himself attached to our country's armed forces, and armed with experience of active military service, happens to be not only a high military officer but a critical author fully gifted with attainments, which are particularly needed to enable one to write or speak with authority on such a difficult theme as we have before us this afternoon.*

As a fighter and war expert, Major-General is fully entitled to view General Khalid's sudden deposition from a pure military stand-point, and he may even hazard a verdict that, but for the Caliph Omar's removal of Khalid from the military leadership, the Islamic history would have been different from what it has transpired to be today. But in my opinion, to look at General Khalid's demotion only from a mundane military angle, and to ignore other vital aspects of the case, will not be a complete dispassionate study. We should strongly resist tendencies to sit in judgment over these two close associates of the Holy Prophet. It is hardly desirable to opine as if those great momins *fell from their true Islamic heights and were prey to baser considerations like extravagance and personal animosity etc., much to damage the ultimate national interests of the Muslims in general. I am rather of this view that much of what has been dished out in that connection by various historians is not based on truth but is a subtle attempt only to disparage the early* Mussalmans *whose character was always above reproach. Khalid's demotion was, therefore a pure Islamic problem. We would do well to regard the whole episode as a natural corollary of the true democratic forces of our great faith. And the only lesson we derive, is, to refresh our undying conviction, that the Muslims owe victories always to divine assistance, and that the glory of Islam is far too innate and pre-ordained to be sub-servient to any Khalid or Omar or for that matter to any created being whatsoever.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

KHALID BIN-AL-WALEED'S CONQUEST OF DAMASCUS

Major-General A. I. Akram

In May 634, Caliph Abubakar wrote as follows :

> "In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful, From Abdullah Atiq, son of Abu Quhafa to Khalid Bin-al-Waleed".

ALTHOUGH Abubakar is known to history by that name, his name actually was Abdullah and the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) had also given him the name of Atiq. Moreover, it was the custom of the early Caliphs to address themselves in their letters as "Abdullah". Thus Omar would write: from Abdullah Omar Bin-al-Khattab; Ali would write: from Abdullah Ali Bin Abi Talib. They proudly assumed the title of Abdullah, which means, as you know, "The slave of Allah". And at that time—at the time of this writing,—Khalid Bin-al-Waleed was in Iraq, at a place called "Hira", which no longer exists but the ruins of which can still be seen a few miles below Najaf. In the preceding year, Khalid Bin-al-Waleed had defeated several Persian armies in several bloody battles and had conquered the western part of Iraq for Islam. Khalid now was the Commander-in-Chief of the Muslim Army in Iraq.

So the Caliph wrote from Abdullah Atiq Bin-Abu Quhafa to Khalid Bin-al-Waleed :

> "I render praise to Allah than whom there is no other God and invoke blessings upon his Prophet Mohammed on whom be the blessings of Allah and peace. March until you reach the gathering of the Muslims in Syria, who are in a state of great anxiety. I appoint you Commander over the Armies of the Muslims and direct you to fight the Romans. You shall be commander over Abu Ubeidah and those with him."

There are other versions of how Khalid assumed command in Syria. In my view, they are not correct. Khalid was expressly appointed Commander-in-Chief in Syria by Caliph Abubakar. Incidentally, Khalid was also known as Abu Suleman—the father of Suleman—and the Caliph continued in his letter :

> "Go with speed and high purpose, O Father of Suleman, and complete your task with the help of Allah, exalted be He. Be among those who strive for Allah. Divide your army into two and leave half with Musanna, who shall be Commander in Iraq. Let not more go with you than stay with him. After victory you shall return to Iraq and resume command. Let not pride enter your head for it will deceive and mislead you, and let there be no delay. Lo, to Allah belongs all bounty and He is the Dispenser of rewards."

This letter was written in May 634. Six weeks before this, in the 1st week of April, which corresponds to the beginning of Safar, 13 *Hijri*, Abubakar had launched four columns into Syria. I shall, henceforth, call these columns corps. A corps means an independent tactical command. He had launched these four corps to capture Syria upto Emessa. At the time of the launching of the Muslim army into Syria Abubakar was not aware of the Roman strength and disposition in detail. The Commanders of these four corps were as follow :

1. Abu Ubeidah
2. Yazeed bin-Abi Sufian
3. Shurahbiel bin Hasana
4. Amr bin-al-A'as

The less informed in the audience should not confuse this Yazeed with that Yazeed of cursed memory who was responsible for the martyrdom of Imam Hussain at Karbala. This was another one.

Now the plan of Abubakar was as follows:

Abu Ubeidah was to take upto Emessa; Yazeed was to take the area of Damascus and its western parts. Shurahbiel was to take the area of Jordan; and at the southern-most was Amr bin-al-A'as who was to capture Palestine. Abubakar laid down that should these four corps unite for battle at one place, Abu-Ubeidah-Bin-al-Jarrah would be the Commander-in-Chief and would command the entire Muslim Army.

Now hardly had the Muslims arrived in Syria, when the Roman Emperor Heraclius started counter measures. He ordered the concentration of Roman Legions at a place called Ajnadein and Muslim intelligence suggested that the Romans would soon have an army of a hundred thousand men at Ajnadein. At this time, the Muslim Corps were dispersed in the area from below the Dead Sea upto Lake Tiberius. They were dispersed in this region and Abubakar was now seriously worried. His army was less than a third of the expected strength of the Roman army.

The biggest problem the Caliph faced was: who should command the Muslim Army? He had said that Abu Ubeidah would be the Commander but Abu Ubeidah, although a great Muslim and a very saintly man, had no experience of commanding a large force in battle and it was most unlikely that he would be able to command the Muslim army successfully against the Roman force more than three times its size. Finally, Abubakar came to the best conclusion which was possible in the circumstances. He would send Khalid to Syria. Khalid would know what to do. This decision made the Caliph feel a lot better and he said :

"By Allah, I shall destroy the Romans and the friends of Satan with the help of Khalid bin-al-Waleed".

He then wrote the letter which I have just read to you. The Caliph could not have done better. Khalid divided his army into two. He left half with Musanna-bin-Harisa and with nine thousand men marched from Iraq to Syria In early June 634 after a perilous march, in which his army was nearly annihilated by heat and thirst, he arrived in Eastern Syria and the first habitation which he encountered was called "Arak", which is just off the map to the North East. It is east of Tadmur which was the first Syrian town where Khalid

arrived. Now in Arak, lived an old scholar—a man who kept himself informed of the affairs of the world. He was a sage who knew much and when he was told of the arrival of this Muslim Army across the desert, he asked : "Is the Standard of this army a black one? Is the Commander of this army a tall powerfully-built, broad shouldered man with a large beard and a few pock marks on his face?"

Those who had seen the arrival of Khalid confirmed that this was indeed so; and the sage said: "Then beware of fighting this army".

The Roman Commander in Arak wisely followed the advice of the sage and surrendered Arak to the Muslims. The people in Arak were surprised to see how gentle and how kind were the terms offered by the Muslims. The local inhabitants would pay the *Jazia* and nothing else. They were not molested in any way.

From Arak, Khalid marched to Tadmur, which surrendered peacefully. Tadmur is now known as Palmyra. From there he went to Qaryatein. The people of Qaryatein resisted him and were fought and defeated. Then he marched towards Damascus and arrived at a pass which is about 20 miles north of Damascus. In this pass, Khalid planted his standard and stayed for about an hour. This Standard of Khalid was one which had been given to him by the Holy Prophet and was known as *Uqab*—"The Eagle". Because of this episode of the planting of the Standard by Khalid, this pass became known as "Saniat-ul-Uqab" "The Pass of the Eagles."

From here, the Muslims marched down towards Damascus but just below the pass, they were opposed by the Ghassan, a large Arab tribe inhabiting Eastern Syria who came out to defend Damascus against the invaders, but they were scattered in a few minutes by a swift charge of the Muslim cavalry and thereafter the out-skirts of Damascus were at the feet of the Muslims. So Khalid raided the suburbs of Damascus, and a little later marched down to Busra.

Shortly before his arrival in Busra, Abu Ubeidah had sent another General, Shurahbiel to capture Busra. Shurahbiel got there with four thousand (4,000) Muslims and was faced by a Roman force of

12,000 men. He began to fight a battle in which the Romans soon got the better of the Muslims. The Muslims were in a very serious situation when Khalid arrived to save them. After his arrival, the Muslims and the Romans formed up for battle, which was just one day battle in which the Romans were roundly defeated by Khalid.

I just want to mention one person who first showed his mettle in Syria in this battle. He was a young Muslim warrior by the name of Zarrar—Zarrar bin-al-Azwar. He was commanding the left wing of the Muslim army. It was a warm day, so he took off his armour and began to fight in just a shirt. That made him feel lighter and happier. But the day got hotter. So he took off his shirt also and fought thereafter with nothing above the waist, and in this half-naked condition, Zarrar killed every Roman champion who came to face him. Within a week stories of this naked champion had spread all over Syria and, thereafter only the bravest of the Romans would come out to fight him.

I shall mention Zarrar again. Well, here the Romans were defeated and they surrendered Busra. After this, Khalid took the entire Muslim army under command and marched to Ajnadein, where the Romans had concentrated with ninety thousand (90,000) men. And here a battle was fought with the Romans by a force which now numbered thirty-two thousand Muslims. It was a fierce two day battle and at the end of the second day, the Romans were driven from the battle-field in complete defeat. The Romans scattered from Ajnadein. The largest group went to Jerusalem which is just north east of Ajnadein and secured itself within the fort. This was the first of the mighty battles between Islam and Christendom. When the Roman Emperor Heraclius heard this, he was devastated. He had not believed that such a vast Roman army could be defeated by an Arab force—one third its strength. He guessed that the Muslims might march on Damascus and so he ordered the Roman garrison at Jerusalem to leave some force there and march to Yaqusa. They were to delay the Muslims at Yaqusa, and at the same time the Roman Emperor sent more forces to reinforce Damascus and to prepare Damascus for a seige.

Khalid marched from Ajnadein. He bypassed Jerusalem, arrived at Fahal, where there was a Roman garrison. Khalid left

a small detachment to keep the Roman garrison tied down and then moved on to Yaqusa.

At Yaqusa, in the middle of August, which corresponds to the middle of *Jamadi-ul Akhir*, 13 *Hijri*, another battle was fought at which the Romans were again defeated. As the Romans fell back, Khalid advanced on Damascus.

What I have said so far was in the nature of a preamble to describe the background against which the battle of Damascus was fought.

We now come to the main part—the main subject of the talk—"the Battle of Damascus". Damascus was known as the paradise of Syria. It was a glittering, populous city, which had troops, temples, wealth, and culture. Damascus had history. It had everything which makes a city great and famous, and after Antioch it was the greatest city of Syria. It was a walled city — a mile by half a mile—and had six gates. At that time the wall was 11 metres high but since then Damascus has risen 4 metres. So at present the wall is only 7 metres high. At that time it was 11 metres high, which is very nearly 36 ft. The Roman commander in Damascus was Thomas, son-in-law of the Emperor Heraclius. A deeply religious man, he was known not only for his learning and his wisdom but also for his courage and his skill in the handling of troops. And with him he had 17,000 troops. He prepared for the seige in haste. To get more time for the preparation of the seige, he sent the bulk of his army south to the area shown on the map as Marj-us-Suffar, his plan being to either defeat the Muslims in the open and drive them back or to get more time for the preparation of the seige. And with the despatch of this force the preparation of the seige continued and Damascus awaited anxiously the arrival of the Muslims.

Khalid advanced from Yaqusa, where he had fought the last battle and met the Roman army at Marj-us-Suffar, which is twelve miles from Damascus. Here on the 19th of August, was fought the battle of Marj-us-Suffar at which the Romans were again defeated. They retreated, although in good order, to Damascus. The following day, Khalid moved up to Damascus and laid seige. He had left a detachment at Fahal to tie down the Roman garrison of Fahal and prevent them from moving up behind the Muslims. He now

detached another force of about a regiment and sent it north-east on the road to Emessa to a place called Baitleah, which is about ten miles from Damascus. The idea here was to block the main route by which Romans could send reinforcements to Damascus and thus isolate the city from the rest of "Rome". And then, with the remainder of his army, which now numbered about twenty thousand Muslims, Khalid beseiged the city of Damascus, which was now manned by about fifteen thousand troops.

Here is Damascus city. You see the gates and the deployment of the Muslim forces. In the east was the East Gate, and here he deployed a general named Rafe, with part of his corps of Iraq, while he himself, with small reserves stayed further east. In fact, he established his Headquarters in a monastery which till then was known as "*Darul Ahmar*" the red monastery, and, after this action, became known as "*Der Khalid*—the monastery of Khalid. To the north-east, there was the Gate of Thomas and here he deployed Shurahbiel, then the Gate of Faradees, which was covered by Amr bin Al-A'as. Coming down to the west there was the Gate of Jabia. Here he deployed Abu Ubeidah. On the south, there were two gates, the Small Gate and the Kessan Gate, and these two were covered by Yazeed bin Abi-Sufian. Khalid also put about two thousand men as mobile troops under the incomparable Zarrar and gave him the task of patrolling the entire city and being available to help any Muslim general who was attacked by the Romans in Damascus. And thus the seige began.

For three weeks, there was no major action. There was a certain amount of archery. The Romans made a few sallies from the gates to break the grip of the Muslims but all these sallies were repulsed. While Damascus was surrounded and the Roman garrison was shut in, the Romans could still send individual soldiers out any time. Soldiers could be lowered from any part of the wall with the aid of ropes and by this means, Thomas was able to keep in touch with Heraclius who was at Antioch.

Heraclius was preparing for a long seige, and he knew that the consequences of the fall of Damascus would be staggering for the entire empire. So he formed a new army of 12,000 men at Antioch, and along with a large supply column sent this army down

to relieve the garrison of Damascus. This army moved on the Emessa route from what appears to the North and just East of North on this map, with the aim of coming to relieve Damascus. This army moved, and a few days later a scout came galloping into the Headquarters of Khalid to tell him of the advance of this Roman army, whose strength was not yet known, and informed him that soon there would be contact with the Muslim blocking force at Baitleah which is a little below Marj Rahit. Khalid had expected this. This is why he had deployed the blocking force on that route. So he organized another mounted force of five thousand men and sent it under Zarrar to go and fight the Romans and drive them back. Khalid instructed Zarrar to be cautious and not to get involved in battle if the Roman strength seemed too much. But these words were wasted on Zarrar. There was one quality which Zarrar did not possess and that was caution. However, Zarrar rode off with his five thousand men, took under command the regiment deployed as the blocking force and advanced to fight the Romans. The following morning, the Romans appeared and Zarrar attacked them. There was severe fighting. The Muslims were out-numbered with a ratio of about 1 to 2 and Zarrar with his usual passionate violence, while fighting, got so deep into the Roman army that they captured him. He was wounded many times before he was overpowered and the Romans, realizing that they have got this champion—one of the greatest fighters of the Muslim Army—decided to take him alive and send him as a prisoner and as a prize to Heraclius. Rafe tried very hard to rescue Zarrar but failed. So Rafe sent a messenger to Khalid to inform him of the Roman strength of the stalemate and of Zarrar, probably taken prisoner. This message reached the Muslims in the late afternoon. Khalid knew that help was needed. It was obvious that he himself would have to go and take command on the battle-field of Baitleah but now the problem that he faced was, that, if he moved immediately, the Roman garrison of Damascus would discover the move and would attack to break the seige. On the other hand, if he delayed his own move, the relieving force would break through at Baitleah and come and break the seige. It was a bit of a dilemma and Khalid decided to accept a certain risk and not move till after mid-night in the hope that the Romans would not discover the move. So shortly after mid-night, he made certain adjustment of strength at various gates and with a force of four thousand men set off for Baitleah. Early next morning

he arrived at the battle-field where the fighting was continuing between Rafe and the Romans. As Khalid was about to reach the battle-field, a Muslim rider flashed past him at a gallop. He was a slim, lightly built person wearing a black dress. He wore a breast plate and carried a sword and a long lance. On his head was a green turban and his face was covered with a scarf, so that only the eyes were visible. And this warrior threw himself at the Romans with such fury that all the Muslims thought that he must be mad. Rafe saw him before he saw Khalid and he said: "He attacks like Khalid but he is clearly not Khalid."

Then Khalid arrived, took Rafe's force under command, organized the two forces as one for battle and prepared to fight the Romans again. While he was busy doing this, the masked-rider treated the Muslims to a thrilling display of horsemanship and skill with the lance. He would charge at one part of the Roman front, strike and kill a Roman, then move back and gallop to another part of the front, kill another Roman, then gallop off again. A few Romans even came out to fight him, but all went down before his terrible lance. And the Muslims marvelled at this wondrous sight. All they could see was a youthful figure and a pair of bright eyes shining above the mask. It appeared that this rider was bent upon suicide as, with his clothes and his lance covered with blood, he struck again and again at the Roman front. This scene gave the Muslims fresh courage as they went into battle once again to assail the Roman army.

Then this warrior, in one of his gallops, moved and passed Khalid and Khalid said to him :

"O warrior! Show us your face".

A pair of dark eyes flashed at Khalid and he was gone again without saying a word. Then a few of the Muslim soldiers got to him and they said : "O noble warrior! Your commander calls you and you turn away from him! Show us your face and tell us your name so that you may be properly honoured".

But again the rider turned away without saying a word and galloped off into another charge against the Roman front. When

next he passed Khalid, Khalid called to him sternly to stop. This time he obeyed orders and pulled up his horse. And Khalid said : "You have done enough to fill our hearts with admiration. Who are you?".

Khalid nearly fell off his horse when he heard the reply of the rider. It was the voice of a girl and she said : "O Commander, I only turned away from you out of modesty. You are the glorious commander and I am of those who stay behind the veil. I fight like this because my heart is on fire".

"Who are you ?" asked Khalid.

And she replied: "I am Khawla, sister of Zarrar. My brother has been captured and I must fight to set him free".

Khalid said : "Then come and attack with us". And the Muslims attacked with this girl in the front rank.

Khalid's presence on the battle-field meant victory. Whenever he arrived, no matter how difficult the situation, his presence meant victory and here again the Muslims, by Allah's help, got victory. The Romans were defeated and began to withdraw towards Emessa. At this time some local Christian Arabs came to Khalid and told him that they had seen one hundred Romans riding towards Emessa with a half naked man tide to a horse. So at once Khalid knew that this must be Zarrar being taken away, and he told the other General, Rafe, to take a hundred men, go round the flank of the retreating Romans and rescue Zarrar. Rafe moved off with a hundred valiant soldiers and the girl, of course, went with him. He rescued Zarrar and brought him back, wounded but otherwise safe. The Muslims now returned to Damascus.

The news of the failure of the relief column spread in Damascus and was a grievous blow. The Damascenes had pinned their hopes on Heraclius who had in fact done his best, but when they heard what happened to the relief column at the hands of Khalid, a pall of gloom descended over Damascus. Supplies were running low and Thomas now decided to break out and try to break the seige on his own. He selected as the point of breakout the Gate of Thomas

against Shurahbiel. Shurahbiel had about 5,000 men at this place.

The following morning, Thomas formed a strong force at the point of sally. He started the operation with a volley of stones and arrows. The Roman army had very good slingers who used to hurl stones, and their archers were much better because they were armed with better bows. The Muslims' bows were not so good, so Thomas did this to drive back the Muslim archers and get room in which he could break out. As a result of this fire, quite a few of the Muslim archers were killed and one of them was a man named Aban bin Saeed—who had only just got married. It is said that his bride—now his widow—still had the stains of *hina* on her hands, and when she was told that the bridegroom was dead, she picked up a bow and some arrows and decided to avenge his death and came up into the front rank of the Muslim archers.

As the archers were driven back the Gate of Thomas opened and the Romans rushed out and formed out into battle formation. In front of them Shurahbiel also made his forces ready for battle and as two forces were ready for battle, the Romans attacked, led by Thomas, who, according to chronicles, roared like a camel.

There was very heavy fighting. The Muslims were out-numbered here but they held their ground. Then Thomas saw Shurahbiel and moved up to fight a duel but as he was moving up, he was struck in the eye by an arrow, fired by the young Muslim widow of Aban bin Saeed. He was at once carried out of battle and, as he went back, the Romans also fell back. In this movement, they were heavily punished by the Muslim archers.

Thomas's eye was giving trouble. The surgeons in Damascus found that they could not pull the shaft out so they cut the shaft at the place where it entered the eye. And Thomas showed himself to be a man of extraordinary courage. He swore that he would take a thousand eyes in return and that he would not only defeat these Muslims but would follow them into Arabia which when he had finished with it would be fit only for the habitation of wild beasts. He ordered another great sally for that night and for this night he made a very wonderful plan. He decided to attack

with small forces at every gate to tie down the Muslim force and prevent them from moving to support each other. For the main sally, he again chose the Gate of Thomas. He knew that Shurahbiel's corps had been damaged by his attack and he decided to exploit the advantage and attack Shurahbiel once again. In this he was wise.

Shurahbiel asked Khalid for help, but Khalid had said that he had no troops so he would just have to hold on as best as he could.

Thomas ordered that no Muslim, who wished to surrender, would be spared. No quarter would be given. Every Muslim would be killed except Khalid. Khalid was to be taken alive and shown as a price to the Roman Emperor. It was, in fact, militarily a very very sound plan. So the same night, two hours before midnight, the attack began. All the sallies had some initial success but all were repulsed. At the Gate of Jabia, Abu Ubeidah himself drew his sword, attacked the Romans and drove them back. They had some success at the Gate of Kessan against Yazeed but luckily Zarrar arrived on the spot and chased them back into the fort again. They had a little success at the East Gate but there Khalid threw his reserves into battle and blocked the Romans and, pushed them back. But the most serious fighting again took place at the Gate of Thomas, where Shurahbiel, who had borne the brunt of the day's fighting, now had to bear the brunt of the fighting of the night. This fighting went on for a while by both sides.

Then again Thomas saw Shurahbiel and these two commanders squared off to fight a duel. For several minutes they fought with sword and shield and then Shurahbiel, finding an opening, struck with his sword on the shoulder of Thomas. But the sword landed on armour and broke and Shurahbiel was then left with no weapon. He was defenceless. At that very moment, however, luckily for him, two other Muslims moved up to engage Thomas and Shurahbiel pulled back and picked up the sword of a fallen Muslim and returned to the duel but Thomas was no longer there. He had gone. In fact, he had realised that the sally had no hope of success and the Romans once again withdrew into the fort. This was the last sally by the Romans.

Now there was complete despair in Damascus. There was grumbling and protest by the civil population. They wanted nothing but peace. Even Thomas was now prepared for peace. He had answered the call of honour. There was nothing more that he could do, but the problem that he faced was how to make peace. The Romans knew the Muslim commanders very well. They knew that Abu Ubeidah was a kind and gentle general. He would be generous in his terms, and he would be benevolent. But Abu Ubeidah was not the army commander. The commander was Khalid and he was known to be a man of extreme violence who looked on battle as sport. He would be harsh in his terms and would Khalid make peace? Thomas was on the horns of a dilemma for only a short while, because the problem was soon resolved by Yunus, the lover.

Yunus was a Greek, who was madly in love with a girl, also Greek. In fact, she was his wife. Shortly before the arrival of the Muslims, they had married but before the ceremony of handing over the bride to the bridegroom could be completed, the Muslims arrived and laid seige to the fort. Thereafter, her people refused to hand the girl over saying that they were busy fighting and how could Yunus think of such things at a time like this?

So one night, after dusk, Yunus lowered himself at the East Gate with the aid of a rope and came to see Khalid. He narrated the sad story and said if the Muslims would get him his wife, he would give the information which would lead quickly to the capture of Damascus. Khalid agreed. He then said: "Tonight there is drunkenness and revelry in Damascus. There will be very few sentries at the gates. If you start the war to attack now, you will take Damascus.

Khalid felt that he could trust him. He seemed sincere. Khalid offered him Islam and he accepted Islam and became a Muslim. So Khalid sent him back and told him to keep quiet. They prepared rope ladders. And it is said that the monks, living in the monastery where Khalid had established his headquarters, also helped them in making the rope ladders. There was no time to tell the other four commanders, so Khalid decided to attack on his own with his own corps of Iraq.

Soon after midnight, they threw ropes up on to the walls. Three officers first climbed up with these ropes. and these three were Khalid, Qaqa Bin Amer and Mazur Bin Ali. There were no guards on top. Then with the ropes, they pulled up the rope ladders and on the rope ladders, other men began to climb. The plan was that a hundred men would go to the top. When the first fifty had climbed, Khalid and Qaqa with few men descended and went down to the gate. They met few guards in the way and they killed them. At the gate they found that the gate was locked. They broke the chain and the lock, and at this moment Roman troops began rushing in towards East Gate, and Khalid knew that it was now touch and go. At the last minute, before the Roman forces could increase to sufficient strength, the gate was opened and the corps of Iraq rushed in to start the attack on Damascus. All the Roman regiments, which moved up towards the East Gate, only moved one way. They never went back. Their corpses littered the road to the centre of Damascus as the Muslims advanced towards the centre.

Now Thomas was informed of this and he knew that the situation was hopeless. It was only a matter of time before Khalid would have the whole of Damascus at his feet. And he played his last card and played it brilliantly. He threw his last reserve against Khalid to delay him as much as he could and sent envoys to Abu Ubeidah to offer to make peace on the payment of *Jazia*. These envoys came to Abu Ubeidah at night and he thought that they had come because they were afraid to face Khalid. From the Jabia Gate in the West, he could not hear the fighting on the east and so he agreed to peace and such was the respect in which the Muslims were held in Syria that his verbal promise of peace was sufficient. There was no treaty signed and the envoys went back saying 'we got peace.' Thomas at once sent other envoys to the other four commanders—Amr, Shurahbiel and Yazeed—to tell them that peace had been made, they would open the gates at dawn and the Muslims could now march in.

In this, of course, Abu Ubeidah was mistaken. He had believed that this was the only way to take Damascus. He had no idea that Khalid was actually in the city. So he made peace on his own. Early in the morning, Abu Ubeidah entered from the Jabia Gate, followed by his corps and followed by Thomas and the nobles and dignitaries of Damascus, and advanced towards the centre. He

met Khalid at the centre, at a place called "Church of Mary". Khalid had just broken the last resistance of the Romans.

Now these two met. Abu Ubeidah walking like an angel of peace and Khalid rushing up like a violent tornado. They met in the centre of Damascus and for a moment they stared at each other. They knew that something was wrong. Everything was not quiet as it should be and now began a very interesting dialogue between these two top generals in Syria. Abu Ubeidah realised that something was wrong, that he had been deceived and he said : "Oh, Father of Suleiman! Allah has given us this city in peace at my hand and made it unnecessary for the Muslims to fight for it".

"What peace", Khalid roared. "I have captured the city by force. Our swords are red with their blood and we have taken spoils and slaves".

It was obvious that there was going to be a terrible row. Khalid was acknowledged as a military genius and nobody would dare to question his military wisdom or his decisions. Moreover, he was not a man to accept any nonsense from his subordinates. But Abu Ubeidah was no ordinary subordinate. He was a special man. The Holy Prophet had once said : "Every nation has its trusted ones and the trusted one of this nation is Abu Ubeidah."

Thereafter he had become known as the trusted one of the nation (*Amin-ul-Ummat.*) He was also known as "*Asram*". *Asram*, in Arabic, means one without the two front teeth. At the battle of Uhud, the Holy Prophet had been wounded and two links of his chain helmet had dug into his cheek bone. Abu Ubeidah had taken them out with his teeth and lost his two front teeth in the process. Thereafter he became known as *Al-Asram* and the gap in his teeth was the envy of all the Muslims because of the way he had got that gap. In fact, it is said, that Abu Ubeidah was the handsomest of those without their front teeth.

There were ten Muslims—ten top *Sahaba*—who had been told by the Prophet in their life-time that they have been accepted in Paradise. We call them *Ashra Mubasharrah*, and they were the top ten in Islam. Abu Ubeidah was one of those ten.

So you can imagine that this was going to be quite a row between the greatest general of the time and one of the greatest Muslims of history. But Abu Ubeidah was a very tactful and gentle person and he knew that he would have to handle Khalid very carefully so he said: "Oh Commander! know that I have entered the city peacefully".

"You continue to be heedless", said Khalid. "How can they have peace from you, when I have entered the city by force and their resistance is broken".

"Fear Allah! Oh Commander"! Abu Ubeidah pleaded. "I have given them a guarantee of peace and the matter is settled".

Khalid said :

"You have no authority to give them peace without my orders. I am commander over you. I shall not sheathe my sword until I destroy them to the last man".

Again Abu Ubeidah pleaded : "I never believed that you would oppose me when I gave a guarantee of peace for every single one of them. I have given the peace in the name of Allah, exalted be He and of the Prophet on whom be the blessings of Allah. The Muslims who were with me agreed to this peace and the breaking of pacts is not one of our traits".

Now the other corps commanders got together and discussed the problem and they gave Khalid the very sound advice that he should accept peace, because if word spread in Syria that the Muslims had given a guarantee of peace to the Romans and then slaughtered them, other cities would not surrender. Khalid saw the wisdom of this advice.

Then he said: "All right, I agree to peace except for these two."

And Abu Ubeidah said: "These two were the first to enter my peace. My word must not be broken. May Allah have mercy upon you". Khalid now gave up. He said: "By Allah, I would certainly have killed them. Let them get out of the city—both of them..and may Allah's curse follow them wherever they go."

There was peace. The Romans would take everything that they could—their families, their servants and their carriages. They could take every bit of their wealth and property that they had. And there would be no pursuit for three days. This was part of the terms of surrender. Immediately, the Roman convoy began to march out, soldiers and civilians with their families. There were hundreds of carriages and wagons, all the wealth, all the merchandise of Damascus was being taken out by the Romans, and this wealth included 300 bales of brocade belonging to the Roman Emperor Heraclius. Khalid and the Muslims gazed mournfully at this convoy. It appeared that nothing was being left. There went the convoy. There went all the goods and there went all the wealth and there went all the beautiful women. All this was rightfully theirs. They had fought for it. They had conquered Damascus, but because of the clever trick of Thomas and the simple generosity of Abu Ubeidah, all this had slipped out of their fingers. So they looked with sorrow and with suppressed anger at the sight of this convoy moving out. But such was the discipline of this army that not a single soldier stepped forward to interfere with the movement of the convoy.

Then Yunus, the lover, came up to Khalid. He had met his bride and she was willing enough to come with him, but when he told her that he had become a Muslim she refused to see him any longer and even now she was travelling in the convoy of Thomas. So he again came to Khalid and said could the Muslims give him his bride?. No, they could not because she was safe under the terms of the pact. Could the Muslims pursue the convoy, and get her back? They could not do that because they could not pursue for three days. Well, after three days? He was told that it was of no use because with the three days gap the Muslims would never catch up. The Romans could safely be in many places, Beirut, Emessa, and be safe in many forts before the Muslims could catch them. Yunus said: "Oh no, they would not be safe in the forts, because they were not going to any of these places". He knew that they were going to Antioch and that was a long way off.

They would not be safe at Antioch for a very long time, so if the Muslims followed after three days there would be a good chance of catching up.

Khalid's eyes brightened. He sent for some of his officers—Zarrar, Rafe bin Omerah, Abdur Rehman bin Abubakar, the son of the Caliph. He had a conference and made plans that after three days, when the three days' grace period was over, they would take four thousand cavalry and go at a breakneck speed to catch the convoy before they got it away. And this is what they did. After three days, at the exact time when the pact had been signed this cavalry force of four thousand Muslims led by Khalid and Zarrar galloped away from Damascus.

The Romans were proceeding at quite a fast pace and had got to a place a little short of Antioch. They were on a plateau in some hills which the early historians have named "Abrash" and which I place at the northern extremity of a range of a mountains called Jabalal Sarrvah in Syria,—the foot hills of which reached down to Antioch. They stopped on a plateau which was a meadow and there had been a certain amount of rain. The goods were scattered on the meadow and the Romans had dispersed to get shelter. These goods included the three hundred bales of brocade belonging to Heraclius and they were lying all over the place. Because of this, the action that followed is known as the battle of Marjudibaj...the Battle of the Meadow of Brocade.

Khalid overtook the Romans with his characteristic speed. He divided the Muslim cavalry into four regiments, each of one thousand horse, and these four regiments attacked the Romans from four directions. There was a terrible slaughter. There always was when Khalid fought. A few Romans escaped. Khalid faced his old enemy Thomas in a duel and Khalid killed Thomas in single combat. The Muslims recaptured all the wealth, all the merchandise, all the captives who should have been in their hands. And with this convoy, the Muslims moved back once again to Damascus.

The return was uneventful. As soon as Khalid arrived at Damascus, he wrote a letter to Abubakar and described the capture of Damascus. He wrote how Abu Ubeidah had been deceived, told him of his pursuit and the killing of Thomas in single combat. He told him of the spoils that the Muslims had taken—spoils enough to gladden the hearts of the faithful. He sent for a messenger, gave him this letter and told him to proceed immediately to

Madina to give it to Caliph Abubakar. This happened on the first of October, 634, the second of *Shaban*-13 *Hijri*.

Hardly had the messenger left when Abu Ubeidah sent for Khalid and Khalid went to him. Abu Ubeidah informed him that Abubakar was dead and Umar was the new Caliph, and Abu Ubeidah gave him a letter written by Umar. Khalid took this letter hesitantly and the most important sentence in this letter seemed to stand out and hit Khalid in the face. This was the letter from Umar to Abu Ubeidah and this sentence said: "I appoint you commander of the army of Khalid Bin-al-Waleed".

Khalid was sacked.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
26 March, 1970.

PROFESSOR R. F. TEBBE

I WELCOME you once again to Sham-i-Hamdard. *In organizing this medico-scientific, educational and cultural service of Hamdard National Foundation, it is my sincere desire that the information, inspiration and guidance, we receive from our honourable speakers, should not fade away, but should galvanise us into some sort of action for national reconstruction and development.*

This year, 1970, *is to be the International Educational Year. An International Conference, held at Williamsburg in* 1947, *revealed that deep-seated maladjustments in most educational systems are bringing us fast to the verge of a crisis. And it was at this Williamsburg Conference that the idea of an International Educational Year was born.*

In our country the issues are fairly well-known and are keenly felt by the people directly concerned. Yet somehow the gap between goals and achievements seems to widen steadily.

What is education? It is a process which results in the growth—intellectual, moral, spiritual and aesthetic—of the human personality in the direction of an ideal of life. The object of education is not to stuff the student with all the facts of the ages, but to put him in possession of the world up-to-date, so that when he leaves school and college, he can start in step with humanity abreast of his time. Unfortunately we discover that in the field of education, we are attempting to face a twentieth or twenty-first century world with institutions and methods which date back to the nineteenth or eighteenth centuries. There have been a number of challenges to the established order to things. In some cases the challenge has come from the students themselves, notably at universities, who feel that the patterns of organisation and teaching, as well as the adequacy of preparation for professional life, leave a great deal to be desired. In other cases the challenge has come from employers, organised professional groups or from the teachers

themselves. We, therefore, discover the need to change but before doing so we must establish our goals and the means to attain innovation and reform in education.

Every system of education is based consciously or unconsciously on some ideal of life, which determines all its parts including its text-books. If a system of education is based on a wrong ideal, it is not capable of promoting the natural and perfect growth of the human personality and it miseducates the individual.

A modest level of education for all citizens is a basic human right. Education beyond the primary stage in order to train sufficient middle and higher level people to speed up national development, is an economic investment. The humanitarian and the economic aspects of education lead to national development. We have won our freedom. Pakistan came into being as an Islamic State with a definite ideology, with a close tie between religion and social life. In the twenty-two years of our existence, we have been estranged from our ideals and in the field of education have sold our birth-right for a mess of potage. This sort of affairs causes anguish to the intellectuals and educationists of Pakistan. We have failed to evolve a successful educational system which will contribute effectively to our national development. We have done colossal damage to the cause of education by making our ideology suit our requirements instead of moulding ourselves to the requirements of our ideology. We have not succeeded in putting forward in this realm, anything winsome and feasible, eliciting the intellectual assent, moral commitment and constructive energy of the people—the educators and the educated.

It has been the constant endeavour of Sham-i-Hamdard *to promote the idea of national reconstruction and development. I, for one, believe that education occupies a pivotal position in the national endeavour for progress. That is why we revert to the subject of education again and again in* Sham-i-Hamdard, *be it at Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi or Dacca.*

Therefore, I have invited today a prominent educationist, Professor Robert F. Tebbe, Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, to address this important Sham. *After a splendid school and college career, Professor Tebbe obtained his Doctorate in Chemistry from*



PROFESSOR R. F. TEBBE
(Prof. Ashfaque Ali Khan is presiding)

the Purdue University, U.S.A. In 1949 *he came to Pakistan as Head of the Department of Chemistry, Gordon College, Rawalpindi. Since* 1968 *he is the Principal of Forman Christian College. His pioneering efforts in the field of education are regarded to be very significant. He has a heart keenly interested in the educational problems of the country. He possesses a mind which thinks on constructive lines. I, therefore, leave the stage in his competent hands to address us on Education and National Development.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Professor R. F. Tebbe

EDUCATION may profitably be viewed as an important area in development and plaining. National development does not depend merely on natural resources; if that were so Switzerland would be a poor country and Kinshasa among the richest of the world. There is an important variable which links the riches of land and sea with per capita income.

Strumlin, a Soviet economist, back in 1919, informed Lenin that the launching of a program of industrialization must be matched with the equivalent investment in education or all would come to a halt in a decade. He arrived at this conclusion through intensive studies which showed that primary education meant 79% increase in output and wages for a labourer; secondary education meant as much as 320%. It is worth noting that this relation was established when the Soviet Union was still largely agricultural.

But as well there seems also to be some correlation between educational investment and rate of national income growth. Countries as diverse and far apart as Sweden and Japan, Germany and Mexico having high rates of educational investment show high rates in growth of national income. And low ıates of educational investment as in India, Greece, Ethiopia seems accompanied by low rate of growth of national income.

Attempts to identify the factors causing growth of national income in a wide range of countries show that only 20 to 40% of increase in national production can be accounted for by investment in land and capital input. Anything of the ıemaining 80 to 60% is unidentified but in the main part is *education*.

A corollary to the premise that education is a major contributor to growth as a part of development is the point that higher education needs even more to receive attention in development plans because it can produce greater returns. One need only look to the contributions which can be made by science and technology to national growth—and here I must, as an aside, deplore the investment made in research aimed at destruction and on space ventures. In a better way investment made to produce scientists, teachers and professors has paid off well. It has triggered a green revolution—Mexi-Pak wheat, Irri-8 rice, maize which returns 700% on investment—the effects of which we know here in Pakistan. It has made better housing, cheaper power (solar cooker, wind energy, desalinization) available and done much to improve standards of health and medical treatment.

To insure that education will contribute to the maximum in national development a number of measures would be in order :

1. Education should be planned. But what do we mean by planning.

Today in virtually all of the world rapid change is taking place and it is inexorable. The individualistic, isolated, pioneer social orders are changing into a modern industrial, scientific, highly complex and organized, secular world state. People and ideas are mobile. Traditional standards and loyalties are being undermind. Spiritual, intellectual and ethical adjustment lags far behind.

Change is of many sorts. There are episodic changes as wars, depression, disasters. Technological changes are wrought by processes of discovery and invention. Ideological changes are manifest in new philosophies and ways of thought and different standards of value. Demographic change may be seen in the growth, distribution and vital characteristics of population.

Consider these staggering statistics. Did you know that 35,000 science and engineering journals in the world publish about one million research papers each year in their fields ?That man's knowledge

is being augmented by technical reports, seminar records, trade journals, doctoral dissertation and books at the rate of 500,000 pages per minute. That 25,000 computers punch out 7,500 miles of paper every day.

It is creative response to this change which necessitates planning. Alert, forward looking institutions may participate to faster change in meaningful ways rather than to be carried along by the tides of the time.

Planning, by definition, is the *disciplined, continuous process* whereby given our heritage and objectives, an understanding of the situation at a given time and place, current and potential resources, we *collectively determine* what steps need to be taken in order to proceed *effectively* towards the fulfilment of our goal. More succinctly, it is an orderly process whereby one ascertains where he is, where he wants to go and how best to get there.

But other than reaction to change is there any other real necessity for planning. Emphatically, yes. Planning enables a systematic approach to decision making. The complexity of modern society necessitates use of data of all sorts in making decisions, statistics, to be sure, but also trend and opinions, too. Then, planning is also a personnel development tool, both to develop staff through participation in the management process and to prepare them for committed leadership.

Planning assumes some degree of ability to predict the future course of events in order to control them. To what extent can we know the shape of things to come ?

Without knowing, can intelligent planning be done ?

While it is true that one cannot anticipate the character or degree of change, it may be acknowledged that one can anticipate its direction. (For example, political, economic, and ideological forces affect goals, motivation and standards. Thus, planning is a process to assess the effect of change at each point of ones' concern and to determine how it should affect objectives, structures and methods. This assessment and adjustment must be continuous. A

particular programme is designed in view of a more general background. Priorities are a combination of general and particular considerations viewed and evaluated in relation to the aims and objectives of those who plan.

To get to the actual process of planning we may first raise the question as to what is involved. First, there must be a clear concept of general objectives and goals. These may be formulated in the light of resources available to carry forward functions and to develop in areas of responsibility. Problem areas, conditioning factors, related forces need to be taken into account. Out of these considerations, secondly, follows the formulation of policy with guide-lines for action laid down. If alternatives are possible, a choice must be made. Lastly, the tasks are set and assignment of specific responsibility made—who is to do what, where and in what working relationship.

The planning process, involves a survey to *collect* requisite and pertinent *data*. This is followed by *diagnosis* in which available information is analyzed to extract the meaning. A *prognosis* is made as to the probable course of events. Policies are formulated and a programme for action drawn up which has to be made effective through careful *task assignments*. As the programme commences to operate there must be a continual *feedback* and *review* which enables *re-examination* of the whole and introduction of necessary *changes*.

The selective and evaluative aspects of planning are most important as development of a system of priorities is involved. The determination of a priority results from assessing the character of a situation according to the perspective of one's own objectives. consideration of time and place, factors and strategy in deployment of resources.

"We identify and define a need, compare it with others, determine which alternative to use, set up evaluative criteria, start to work, describe and measure performance, evaluate results and modify as required".

For a developing nation there are four tasks of the highest order of priority in educational planning.

1. Better integration of education with major needs of economic growth and social development.

   It is a fact that arts graduates up to M. A. level are finding great difficulty in obtaining employment. On the other hand there is a dearth of scientists and technicians. Yet due to the nature of the course, graduates of the polytechnic institutes are also unemployed. Little has yet been done to 'practicalize' education in the rural setting.

2. A more balanced and selective expansion of the education system. People of a democracy look upon education as a right, but resources for unlimited expansion are not here. For development and rapid growth more skilled technicians are necessary.

3. The energetic inducement of essential changes and improvements of all sorts within the existing educational system.

4. Strengthening education outside the classroom.

Changes of the sort implied by the four tasks outlined will not be easy. Educational systems are by their nature resistant to change. Further, change in education is apt to be an extremely complex affairs. Consider only the extent of the widely dispersed education units and the thousands of teachers with whom communication has to be established and training offered in order to bring about acceptance and effective application of new practices. Educational change itself requires a major educational effort.

Perhaps the most fundamental obstacle to educational change is the absence of sufficient institutional mechanisms within the system to initiate change.

One should not expect miracles but planning is better than 'flying blind'. It is, after all, simply the application of rational analysis, common sense and a broader—and longer—range perspective to the essential business of developing our nation's human resources.

Again it is emphasized that the plans ought to be integrated into the development schemes, for, education investment must be a

function of national development objectives and not an independent variable. Manpower needs for the nation's industry, agriculture, trade and commerce, education and health systems and services must be assessed in accordance with which the education plans are made. And finally, the manpower needs, human resources have to become politically viable in order to be implemented.

2. Following from the consideration of educational planning is the realization that there must be various streams of education to supply the demands. A wide variety of scientific, technical skills is required for rapid development and expansion in industry, agriculture yet these are not forthcoming due to the bias of our system towards a less practically oriented, liberal arts type of education. and with all due respect to our graduate civil service officers' abilities, it is hardly likely that they can possess the special knowledge, interest and vision to lead in the different types of job to be done in some of these fields. Pakistan needs skilled workers to man the machines and to use other tools of progress. Many graduates of technical schools who have the manual skills and not only knowledge of theory are required.

A young man applied for a post as clerk. Among his qualifications was a certificate from a polytechnic course in air-conditioning and refrigeration. I asked why he did not pursue this type of work. No employment. What sort of course. Theory. Have you ever repaired an air conditioner? No. Or replaced the refrigerant in a refrigerator? No. He had done a bit of soldering, however.

3. Some means must be found to avoid wastage which occurs to a colossal extent. There is a small primary school on the college campus. Only a bare 35 or 40% ever finish 5th class and it seems as though as many more children are not in school as are studying. A look at the examination results in terms of pass percentages is very eloquent to illustrate this point that waste occurs.

The rolls of the illiterate continue to grow and remain large due to increase in population although the percentage of illiteracy may be falling. And as well numbers of persons who may have passed the primary stage of education lapse into illiteracy as they do not go on or keep up a minimum practice of reading and writing.

4. Some attention must be paid to the "technology of education". A convocation speaker last year revealed that our present system had been originated at London University in the year 1836. Surely, some changes have occurred, some progress made in that interval. Perhaps up to 1947 no significant change was possible, but in the decades since then why not ?

For a moment look on education as an industry—a college, for example, as a factory. It uses land resources for its campus. Capital has been invested in library, buildings, hostels, play grounds. It employs human labour and skills. So, we may ask the questions: "What return does the country get from its investment in the educational industry?" "How does the return in this sector compare with that in others?"

In the view of some of our education planners the educational system must become a producer and not merely act as a service to the community.

Julius Nyrere, President of Tanzania, opposed the light-giving aims of the University to the fruit-bearing function. He called for application of existing knowledge to public and social service.

With the technical tools now available for teaching and communication, great improvements can be made if the orientation is made and a willingness to employ them present.

Perhaps it would be in order to digress a moment for a bit of introspection. Because unless it becomes possible to be free from present traditions and practice in our educational system, little can be done. It is quite time for Pakistan to set out on its own to develop education consonant with its own culture, ideology and needs.

In our schools the lecture method imposed on a captive audience reigns supreme. While there is the potential value of personal confrontation and meeting of minds, there are also drawbacks. The teacher—untrained, unrefreshed, unrenewed—becomes the repeater of meaningless words. He is burdened with a heavy workload in number of contract hours and numbers of students. Consider the

case of an examiner in one of the subjects who is given the task of reading and evaluating over 900 manuscripts, each 15 to 20 pages of handwriting and a good bit difficult to read. This works out to about 16,000 to 18,000 pages to be marked in the usual time given, say three weeks. On top of his other normal duty how careful can this man be?

The rapidly growing population and numbers demanding education are going to aggravate this problem of workload and numbers.

But, the learning techniques remain the same. In some 21 years I have taught in Pakistan, rote memorization, cramming, imbibing bits and pieces of knowledge and information as fast as possible to pass the examination are the *modus operandi*. And almost all is promptly forgotten. The examination system does not evaluate a student's personality, educational equipment, his powers of independent thinking, reflection and reasoning. It does not equip him for life. A particularly revealing account is given of a group of students of political science preparing for an examination over the United Nations Charter. They were using bazaar notes prepared from a report of a seminar in which an analysis of the original charter had been given.

As one irate father wrote when he sent a letter written by his son, a B.A. 4th year student, on which the mistakes were marked out in red pencil: "What kind of education is he getting in your college when as you can see, there are over a half century of mistakes in a mere two pages of script !".

One educator has stated that examination reform has become crucial to progress. "If there is to be any single reform in education it should be that of examination".

But education technology alone is perhaps not so important as content. In the area of up-dating and renewing curricula and syllabi very much needs to be done. It is of the utmost importance that these be pertinent to the needs of the country. Of what value is abstract knowledge unrelated to the lives of the learner. Is it useful to sing "Here we go round the mulberry bush" if one

has never seen such? A significant experiment has been developed by one Paul Freire in Brazil. He is able to teach illiterates to read in as little as three months through utilization of life situations of the learners. His philosophy that education is meant to liberate and not to domesticate has been demonstrated as practicable. Similarly, our whole system needs an overhaul and it may be that the time is short. The magnificent generation of men who brought Pakistan into being are passing away. The new generations must be taught and, more importantly, their spirit transmitted as well to preserve national ideology and unity. For, as all know, forces of disintegration are at work and confusion is spread.

I would like to raise and give one view on an important and delicate question. We know that development is inextricably linked with political action. Should there be participation, therefore, in national political movements on the part of institutions of learning? By participation is meant action and agitation to bring about political change not discussion or debate of issues, expression of views etc. The answer is NO. Educational institutions exist for preparation of youth for life. Students are seekers after truth, in the process of learning tolerance, compassion, equality and justice. Direct action negates this process and impedes the work of the educational institutions.

There is no doubt that matters have reached a crisis stage. The system keeps grinding out graduates for whom there are no employment opportunities. 3,500 M.A.s are registered with the Lahore Board of Education, 10,000 candidates sat for the PCS examination competing for 120 posts. The present problems of education are those of a decade or two ago, but aggravated. Is there something in the social and economic milieu which prevent action? A realistic policy must take into account this apparent inability of the academic system to move forward.

But, perhaps, at the bottom it will be conceded that the main difficulty may be the human factor. And those of us who are a part of the education system may be responsible for holding up progress. Now many of us as teachers would measure up to the credo of a man, a teacher of biology, who, when dying of cancer and before his terminal disability before death, wrote:

"I am attempting to teach individuals the basic biological principles which underlie all of life. I am trying to lead these individuals to an appreciation of the world of life of which they are a part. I am trying to lead them to look at the wonderful creations of God and, thereby, to realize His greatness as they deal at first hand in the laboratories with the intricate mechanisms of living structures. I am trying to arouse interest and, thereby, curiosity that might cause some of them, even one, to make their contribution to the world through one of the many fields of Biological Science".

What am I doing in my other courses?

First, let me describe these students. The students in courses above the General Biology course are preparing for a profession where they will need a background in Biology and where they will use the actual material learned in the courses. This includes those planning to enter the medical field (doctors, dentists, nurses, laboratory technicians, etc.), those going on to graduate school in some phase of Biology, those who will teach Biology in public schools, and others. In the advanced courses I am trying to go beyond the approach mentioned above for the General Biology course. I am trying to teach a deeper understanding of the biological phenomena. I am trying to lead these students to think and to work independently, and to draw conclusions from their work. I am attempting to help these students to succeed in their chosen work and to be well prepared as graduates from other institutions.

Why am I doing it?

I am teaching because I love people and this is a profession where one can and must work closely with people. I am teaching because there is a sense of satisfaction in having a part, even a small part, in educating those who will make up our world in the future. I am teaching because there is a challenge to it. It is wonderful to see the face of a student light up when he learns something new. The challenge is to stimulate that light. I am teaching Biology because I love life and Biology is the study of life. Ever since I was a little child I have had a fascination for the things of nature. I have always been curious about and interested in plants and animals and their ways of life. I am teaching Biology because God created life and

in the wonders of his creations from the smallest virus to the greatest redwood, from the tiniest protozoan to the largest whale, I can see God and lead others to see God.

I am teaching Biology because Biology serves. I feel that there is service involved in helping young persons to prepare themselves to serve our world. I am teaching Biology because I feel this is where I can do the most for the world and for God.

What should I be doing?

I feel that I should be doing more and doing it better. I should first of all be better prepared in more phases of the field of Biology if I am to do an adequate or a great job of teaching. I should be studying the new developments in the fields of my course work.

I feel that I should have some help in my department, not because I have too many students but too many courses.

I should, of course, be working on a doctorate, a necessary thing not only for my professional stature but a needed work and training for any faculty member dedicated to the teaching profession.

We may analyse and synthesize and criticize the University exams etc., all right but let just this one practical question be answered: "Suppose a drastic change were to be made resulting in loss of fees for private tuitions and checking exam papers without change in the salary scales. What would be the reaction of the academic community?" It is not that teachers should not receive due compensation for their work. Salary scales must go up, substantially. Will it, however, change the pattern? Perhaps we teachers have some house ordering to tend to as well. The spirit of self-sacrificing service is called for to ensure the necessary change and progress:

هم راه وفا میں جینے کو سمجھے هیں شہادت سے بھی سوا
اک عمر کی خدمت مشکل هے اک داد کو احساں کہتے هیں

Sham-i-Hamdard, Lahore.
2 April, 1970.

DR. M. A. RASHID

THE mood and text for Sham-i-Hamdard *this afternoon is set by the anouncement of the national educational policy. A refreshing new attitude prevails in the educational circles and gives a bright promise for the future. The educational policy with its highlights such as stress on religion, bias for technology, higher pay for teachers, 8-year basic education, science college for districts, gradual change-over from English, has attempted a practical and co-ordinated programme of educational advancement. Educational advancement means national unity and progress. National development and industrial progress almost synonymous with technological development which in turn depends on technical education. Full exploitation of our national resources, harnessing of rivers and waters, building for roads and dams, mining of minerals, require properly qualified and practically trained personnel.*

Technical education in our country is still in its post-infant stage. The engineering institutions in our country have not been equipped with practical training and other facilities required to turn out properly qualified engineers and technical personnel. Apparatus and instruments for practical training are few on account of lack of sufficient funds. There is room for improvement in training programme which could provide thoroughly trained technical staff for proper teaching and setting up of post-graduate courses and research facilities. Technical education should be subsidised so that it comes within easy reach of meritorious students of limited means. The scope of engineering study has increased these days due to the vast scientific advancement. The engineering institutions will have to be re-organised if they are to keep abreast of this scientific achievement. Quality and skill of the products of these institutions will determine the pace of national progress and technological advancement.

Technical education should be controlled at the national level in order to bring about development on All-Pakistan basis. To achieve national cohesion and unity, the planners and builders of tomorrow will have to be given a national bias and not a parochial outlook on life. We are trying to train our personnel for a twentieth

or twerty-first century world with institutions and courses dating back to the nineteenth or eighteenth centuries. Providing qualified teachers in these institutions is a matter of dire importance. The reason for the phenomenal success of advanced countries is that they gave the technical profession a high status in their administration set-up.

It is gratifying that today the gap between goals and achievement has been fully realised The new education policy reflects this realisation and seeks to narrow down the gap with a massive shift to technical and vocational education with emphasis on agriculture and the production of scientific teaching apparatus within the country. The lasting benefits, which improvements in technical educaiion are likely to bring to this country, cannot be expressed in words or figures. The economy of our projects is integrally linked with the calibre and efficiency of the engineers and technicians that the country's institutions are producing or will produce.

It is against this background that I have invited Dr. M.A. Rashid, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the East Pakistan University of Engineering and Technology to speak today on "The Problems of Technical Education in Pakistan". I am deeply grateful for his kind acceptance of the invitation. Dr. Rashid, after completing the engineering degree course at the Calcutta University, obtained the degree of Master of Science and Doctor of Science in 1948 *from the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During the post-graduate studies he carried out research work in pre-stressed concrete.*

Dr. Rashid joined the Ahsanullah Engineering College in 1948. *From* 1954 *to* 1960 *he was the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Dacca. He was appointed a Member of the Commission on National Education in* 1958. *In* 1961, *he became the Director of Technical Education, and from* 1962 *became the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Engineering and Technology. Dr. Rashid is a member of the National Science Council, Pakistan, and a Fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers. He is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, and was elected a member of the Executive Council of the Association of Commonwealth Universities for the year* 1969.

His knowledge of the limitations in the field of technical education is, therefore, unbounded.

Hakim Mohammed Said



DR. M. A. RASHID

THE PROBLEMS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN PAKISAN

Dr. M. A. Rashid

PAKISTAN, in its efforts to hasten its economic growth through industrialisation, modified its traditional education system by establishing institutions for technological and technical education and also created institutes for the training of technical personnel. Today, it is becoming imperative in order to augment export trade for Pakistan to narrow the technological gap between itself and the industrialised countries of the world. As it so happens, this coincides with the persistent public demand in the country for expanding educational facilities in vocational and professional subjects rather than in the traditional stream of liberal arts.

The categories of requirements by industry for technical personnel call for three distinct and different types of duties. In a pyramidical fashion, these are:

(i) Semi-skilled and skilled labour in a particular trade, such as carpentry, welding, machinist, masonry, etc. In this category, each person develops skill in one trade and his skill improves through practice in the trade;

(ii) Technicians variously designated as supervisors, foremen, engineering salesmen, etc. A technician though not proficient in any particular trade acquires the know-how of a number of related technical trades and is aware of the inter-dependence of these trades in relation to a finished product or an engineering process. He is not conversant with the scientific analysis and design of engineering products and technological processes.

(iii) Engineers, who are well grounded in mathematics and are well conversant in the engineering sciences so as to be aware of the scientific basis for technological processes and engineering works and are, therefore, capable of designing new structures in novel conditions and of introducing innovations in processes and products.

In view of the very disparate nature of the functions of these three categories of personnel required in industry, their training and education are carried out in three distinct types of institutions. In Pakistan, there are the vocational schools and technical training centres, where candidates, who have at least passed Class VIII of a secondary school, undergo varying periods of industrial apprenticeship depending on the trade. The technical institutes/ polytechnics offer training at technician level through a three-year course of studies to entrants who are at least matriculates from secondary schools. The engineering colleges offer a 4-year course of studies in a branch of engineering for entrants who must have passed the higher secondary certificate examination in science.

The curricula of studies in these three types of institutions are quite distinct and segregated. There is no continuity academically from one tier to another. A technician has little to gain from an intensive training in any particular trade say, carpentry at a training centre, for the efficient discharge of his duties as a supervisor and co-ordinator. Although an engineer may sometimes have to carry out some of the functions of a technician, the latter does not need to acquire a depth in knowledge of mathematics and engineering sciences to execute his functions.

This is the pattern of the structure of technological education and technical training in most other countries, except that, in many industrially advanced countries vocational schools are not established as separate institutions as in Pakistan. Moreover, elementary and secondary schools harbouring the general education stream include some vocational training in their curricula. Also, the established industries undertake their own training programmes for skilled technical personnel needed by them. Japan, for example, has two sets of institutions: technical colleges which admit students after 9-years of compulsory general education and offer a 5 year's

course of studies; universities which admit students after 12 years of education into a 4 year programme of studies. It is not possible in Japan for a student after his graduation from a technical college to enter into a university; despite this restriction there is a very great demand for admission into technical colleges, for industry needs personnel with such training. The reason for this, in Japan, as in many other industrially advanced countries, lies in that industry recognises the meritorious skilled worker: the productive technician, and gives him the encouragement and status within the organisation.

In Pakistan, the admission of students into the aforesaid three types of institutions for technological education and technical training has been contingent upon the performance of the candidates at the public examinations at two levels, namely, the S.S.C. Examination and the H.S.C. (pre-engineering) Examination. Students who do not complete the S.S.C. course, but have passed class VIII are the majority that get admitted into technical training centres or vocational schools. Furthermore, students who cannot get themselves admitted into a good intermediate college join technical institutes for the diploma courses of studies. Students, who do very well at the S.S.C. Examinations, are admitted into the pre-engineering H.S.C. course in good intermediate colleges, and of these only those securing top positions at the H.S.C. (pre-engineering) Examinations are admitted into the engineering colleges/universities. Some of those, who cannot secure a seat in an engineering college, join the diploma programme of studies in the technical institutes.

The fact, that the trade course at the technical training centres/vocational schools and the technician's course at the technical institutes are both terminal courses, has brought on a demand from the trainees at these institutes that the educational programme be modified so as to enable a trainee to progress from one tier to the next and, simultaneously, reach the end of the topmost tier in just the same time as it takes a student in an existing science stream to complete his course in engineering at an engineering college.

This presents a problem. Because of the unavoidable lack of continuity in the academic programme of the different tiers to technical education, students joining a higher tier from the lower one require additional time to study the pre-requisite subjects which

students of the general education (science) stream studied during the period when the former was receiving his training in a different direction in the lower tier. While such students, that have the intellectual stamina and academic ability, should be given an opportunity to progress to the higher tier, they cannot be permitted to skip some parts of the academic programme of the higher tier which they have never studied and still get the recognition of having achieved the calibre of the final products of the regular stream. In U.S.S.R., the top calibre students from Technicums (institutions for training of technicians) are permitted to join an undergraduate degree course in a university, provided they can successfully compete with students from the secondary school stream and both the streams are required to follow the same course of study in the same period of time at the university. The number of seats in the higher tiers of technical education will necessarily remain limited due to the higher cost of plant facilities. The problem really comes down, firstly, to selecting entrants into any tier—(irrespective of the stream he comes down) who are most suitable for the course and, secondly, to an examination by the employers of the wage structure in their organisation and of their rules of recruitment to higher posts, in order to bring about a change to enable promotion of personnel in lower positions in recognition of merit and competence.

Although a craftsman, diploma holder and an engineering graduate would necessarily start their career at emoluments in an ascending order commensurate with the quality and quantity of their education and training, there is little justification for the employer to continue to offer an unimaginative indifferent engineer performing some routine duties throughout his career more emoluments than a resourceful enterprising technician or a hard-working highly skilled craftsman. As long as too high a premium is paid on the academic qualification obtained before entering a job rather than on subsequent performance, the demand for admission into institution offering higher level courses will continue to increase, not only from deserving students who can profit from the course but also from a vast number of undeserving ones who would like to have the degree or diploma as would assure them a higher position in life.

The next problem in the development of our technical manpower arises out of existing difficulties in providing on-the-job practical

training to fresh entrants into the professions or trades. Because of its very nature, on-the-job training cannot be offered in educational institutions and technical personnel of all categories need well-organised and well-supervised on-the-job training before they should be saddled with direct responsibility. Unfortunately, with only a few exceptions, employers both in the public and private sectors have no arrangements for in-service training for their new recruits from among fresh products from the institutions. The function of every technical personnel is ultimately to be productive of goods and facilities and the major direct benefit from this is derived by the employers in the industry; so there is no question as to the responsibility of industry in this matter. As in other developing countries, industry in Pakistan is not itself developed sufficiently and, with its sole concern in making profits in a seller's market without competition, it is reluctant to part with its profits required for the in-service training. It is to be hoped that the industry will soon realise the benefits that accrue to it through the in-service programme for on-the-job training of its new entrants.

Whilst the aforesaid comments refer to the problems in the development of technological education and technical training, such education and training are *per se* of little value economically to the country unless the trained personnel are intelligently directed and properly utilised by our industrial and engineering organisations. The lever that ensures their proper utilisation for enhancing industrial productivity and technological growth is 'management'. For too long has there been a lack of meaningful contacts between our educational institutions and industrial management. This may have been earlier due to historical reasons, where management imported foreign technology, foreign know-how and expertise to establish and run industries. Unfortunately, even today management, whether it be composed of technical persons or non-technical persons, either invite foreign consultants for planning, design and even the supervision of important engineering projects or arrange that projects are executed on a 'turn-key' basis without the participation of local expertise. The total effect of such policies is the lack of growth of local professional expertise on the one hand, and the absence of a very desirable industrial orientation of the products of the educational institutions, despite the utmost carefully planned

curricula of studies. And the group that can break this impasse is our management.

Management must begin to sort out the functions of routine administration from the technological functions of planning, design, development and production. Those that are entrusted with the technological functions must be made to realise, if not already self-aware, that technological knowledge grows in geometrical progression like a chain reaction, as a consequence of which a technologist's knowledge gets obsolete within a period of ten years of his graduation from a university, and in some fields even earlier. Continuing education of technologists and managers is provided for in industrially developed countries through post-graduate degree programmes, summer-school or part-time evening short courses in specialised fields, technical meetings and seminars, and even through correspondence courses using modern media of recorded tapes, radio and television. In Pakistan, seminars have been slowly gaining popularity for training in administrative management. Post-graduate courses in technology have met only half-hearted response, because employers (except educational institutions) have failed to reward those obtaining post-graduate degree with increased emoluments compared to the holder of only a first degree.

If this principle of continuing education and retraining of technical personnel connected with technological functions of management is grasped, much benefit will follow. There will be a trend towards scientific management using modern techniques such as project evaluation, review techniques and operations research. Furthermore, there will be a growth of technological expertise within the organisations and with it a sense of professional pride and capability of independent assessment of technical feasibility of projects. Simultaneously, there will flow cooperation between educational institutions and industrial organisations that would enable industrial training of students, exchange of ideas between teachers and industrial management/professional technologists. Of equal importance is the fact that the technical problems, that would unfold, could serve as subjects for research programmes at the educational institutions by the highly qualified research workers.

The days ahead are certainly going to be one of keen international competition in the technological field. The once favoured

jute products find increasing competition from man-made fibres. The tea industry which catered to an export market is now predominantly turned to a domestic market. There is no room for complacence, and more so for isolation between our educational institutions and industrial management. In the past our reforms have been directed essentially to the areas of training and education; now it is for management to bring about self-reforms in their basic attitudes to industrial productivity and technological growth. It must set into motion an internal self-regeneration by adopting constructive programmes of continuing education and retraining. Only a few of our industrial organisations have recognised this and have taken appropriate measures. More so shall have to do, for the public have become aware of the need for utilisation of the country's scientific and technical manpower and in the creation of job opportunities. Just as educational institutions cannot remain inspite of their autonomy outside the stream of national policy and national economy, so too with the management of our large industrial and engineering organisations.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Dacca.
9 April 1970.

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Sher-e-Banglanagar, Dacca.
9 April 1970.

MR. JUSTICE A. R. CORNELIUS

IT is with a sense of great honour and privilege that I welcome you all to this Sham-i-Hamdard. *I am happy to say that* Sham-i-Hamdard *has come to occupy a considerably important place in the cultural life of Pakistan by stimulating a vivid and lively interest in the assessment and resolution of the manifold problems facing the nation, and infusing a sense of participation in the gigantic task of national reconstruction and development. This* Sham *will be exceptionally interesting and important by virtue of both our Guest Speaker and the subject.*

I am certain that Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius, Minister for Law, Government of Pakistan, needs no introduction to any audience in Pakistan. For 41 *years, he served first India and afterwards Pakistan, first and foremost as a legal man. From the beginning of his school days he had a predilection for law. The subtleties of legal problems have a special fascination for him, and he enjoys the advantage of having an orderly, precise, coherent form of mind. He has learned perspective and humility and that the world is bigger and more intricate than we think, and that there are more things in heaven and earth than we can bring within the pale of any copy-book philosophy. He served as Secretary in the Law Ministry of the Government of Pakistan and five years as a Judge in the High Court of West Pakistan. After about* 17 *years in the Federal High Court and the Supreme Court of Pakistan where he held the high office of Chief Justice, he proceeded to enjoy a well-earned retirement. But we needed him—Pakistan needed him. So he has sacrificed the leisured life of retirement to the gruelling responsibilities of a Law Minister.*

His other side shows a deep interest in sports particularly cricket and latterly athletics. He is deeply religious. He is one who will never run with the herd and never bow to a storm.

The struggle for human rights is as old as humanity. Great law-givers from the time of Hammurabi *and* Manu *have sought through*

means of laws to give protection to the individual against oppression by the strong. In China, 3 *centuries before the Christian era,* Mencius *was insisting that "the people are the most important element in the nation". In the Islamic tradition each individual could claim the rights to brotherhood, to justice, to safety and to protection of his reputation.*

Modern concepts of human rights and fundamental freedoms have taken shape during the long development of democratic society. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the range of human rights and freedoms was widened—the franchise was extended, rights of association and assembly were given new definition and economic and social rights were added to the political rights such as rights to free employment, education, ownership of property, to religion, to opinion and expression.

In Pakistan these human rights are in accordance with its eihical system by virtue of having sprung out of that system. For Pakistan, Islam in its widest sense is its ethical system where the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam should be fully observed. Since Islam embraces the totality of human life, there is no compartmentalisation of life into spiritual and temporal sectors. Sovereignty belongs to God and human beings are merely executors of divine law. With this basic approach how far are the manifold aspects of human life, emanating from the conscience of the individual and oriented towards the life of society, encompassed within the ethical system of Pakistan.

This is what we are about to hear from our honoured Guest Speaker this afternoon.

Hakim Mohammed Said



MR. JUSTICE A. R. CORNELIUS

HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE ETHICAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN

Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius

ALLOW me first to express my gratitude to Hakim Mohammed Said and the Hamdard Foundation for the honour and privilege of addressing this distinguished gathering. These meetings have now become an institution serving the cause of cultural integration in Pakistan. It is an achievement of which Hakim Sahib may well be proud, and all of us may also share that pride.

When I last addressed one of these gatherings, which was at Lahore, last July, I spoke on the need for a uniform ethical system for the success of democracy. I propose to speak today in continuation of the same theme, and it is proper, therefore, that I should give you a summary of the argument I had then presented.

It commenced with the proposition that the basic sense of right and wrong among all civilised communities is founded in age-old religious beliefs. This is despite the existence of a strong tendency among western intellectuals to appropriate all credit for everything good in human affairs to the intellect of rational man. Humanism, in this way of thinking, takes the place of the Almighty as the first cause, but in major issues, such as those of race and colour, Humanism is ineffectual, for it is founded on sectional self-love, a belief among a limited circle of people that they are, or can be, noble in all their works.

The ethical system is, however, more than a system of morals. A structural ingredient of an ethical system is the characteristic spirit and temper of the people, the product of their concrete

experience, in which is embodied the experience of their forbears, thus building up a General Will. To maintain the way of living, out of which it was born, and to contrive and determine processes for its betterment, is the demand of the General Will. Its quality may be gauged from such indications as the personal habits and external behaviour of the people, the traditions and beliefs natural to them, the quality of their self-consciousness and sentimental values. As the features of animal and vegetable life growing in a confined piece of water, such as a lake, are determined by the chemical content of the water, so the ethical system provides the determinants of the human qualities of the people living within it. But not wholly, for humanity in the mass is not to be held permanently in a poisoned ethical system. They have been given power by the Almighty to make the necessary corrections. I quoted from Shah Waliullah, a passage of compelling perception, which traces the course of this development from the superiority that has been conferred by Allah upon the human race, over the rest of creation, coupled with the power of self-improvement, through the faculties of balance and of intelligence. I indicated my preference for this concept over the prevailing rationalist attitude which attributes all progress to merely human initiatives.

I then went on to trace the progress of democratic institutions in Europe, where the Greek theories were introduced among the learned through the writings of the Muslim philosophers of Spain, in especial, Ibn Rushd, in the twelfth century, and pointed out that it was not until the middle of the 19th century that the roads were prepared for the onward march of democracy. Autocracy in the shape of absolute monarchies constituted a major obstacle, and its effect was magnified beyond measure by the association of the rulers with the religious hierarchy, whose control of the systems of education and law, both operating in the Latin language, together with their towering influence in the corridors of power, furnished additional obstructions of an enduring kind. When rival religious sects gained power, and placed themselves behind the forces engaged in the inevitable dynastic struggles, there followed the agonising centuries of the religious wars, in which the common people counted for nothing and suffered terribly, so that whole provinces were depopulated and laid waste. The senselessness of these conflicts and the total irrationality of the involvement of the

religious hierarchies took about two centuries to come home to the general consciousness of the peoples of Europe, and in the process, several other necessary changes came about. Latin was replaced by the regional languages by a process which commenced in the fourteenth century and lasted some 200 years. Education which was a monopoly of the religious orders became available to all, on the same terms, only when systems of state education were established less than 100 years ago. These were essential steps towards the creation of a uniform ethical system, and a third necessity, namely, that the people began to understand and to participate in the making of their own laws was finally met, and equally slowly, when universal adult suffrage was conceded. Side by side, other monopolies such as restriction of entry into the better professions, and even in the field of sport were gradually overcome.

I pointed out that the idea of democracy may well have been received with alarm in the twelfth century owing to the strong warnings that the Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, had sounded against parting with power to the common people, because of the certainty that they would destroy privilege and private property, and substitute licentiousness for law. Acceptance of popular participation in the processes of the State and in the institutional and general activities governing the Society, has come about after the age-old monopolies of power, prestige and property were eliminated or minimised, and the blessings of education, of freedom in matters of religion and livelihood, and of training through social agencies in self-discipline and citizenship have spread among the common people.

In comparing the incidents of Indo-Pakistan history with the developments in Europe, I pointed out that representative government was, in a manner of speaking, imposed upon us by our British rulers. We did not achieve it by the hard way that the European nations had to tread. Ever since the 11th century, allowing for a few changes at the top, there has been a settled central authority in the Sub-continent, until the departure of the British 23 years ago. We have been spared the cruel wars of the regional princes and princelings. The confusion of religion with political power has operated only at local level and never made much headway, even though the great mass of the Hindu population lived under the rule

of a minority of Muslims for some 700 years. The contrast with conditions in Europe for some 5 centuries out of the same period is striking, and can be attributed, without misgiving, to the effectiveness of the dictate of the Holy *Qur'an*: "Let there be no compulsion in religion".

Although we have received representative institutions as a gift, we must admit that as a people we have been struggling with democracy ever since, achieving but little success, at organisational level. However, the spirit of self-rule has established itself among the people at large, and that is by itself a considerable gain, even though the structuring of the superior democratic agency has yet to take shape. For each people, according to their traditions, their social organisation, their genius, such an agency has to be fashioned anew, and the process calls for exercise of the highest faculties of political intelligence and compromise. But, at the same time, once set on foot, democracy, as a mode of political organisation, grows of itself, out of the human complex, as uniformity is brought about in the ethical system. I pointed out that in each of our past Constitutions, there were provisions which laid down that "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, should be fully observed in Pakistan"—in a word, that the ethical system of Pakistan is to be Islamic in the fullest sense.

It is from that point that I propose to continue my examination of certain questions that arise. The first such question that strikes me is—whether democracy as practised in western countries can be treated as an absolute good—a kind of Heaven on Earth, whose perfection is beyond question? Has the ethical system, whose purification so greatly aided the onset of democracy, the strength and vitality to purify the processes of democracy? Or is it possible that, within the theories on which western democracy is based, there is a flaw which is itself corrupting the ethical system ?

It is probable that the picture placed so graphically before us in Pakistan, by the mass communication media in the English language, among which a number of periodicals with world circulation must now be included, regarding the social and moral degradation which the young persons of both sexes in a number of western countries seem to be deliberately seeking, is exaggerated. If it were not

that most of us have seen examples, in the shape of dirty, derelict, drug-intoxicated European young men and women in our own streets, we might be thoroughly sceptical about the written accounts that come to us, even with illustrations, for pictures are as easily faked as verbal descriptions. But it is openly and widely stated that all the corrective influences on which civilised humanity has relied during a thousand years and more, such as the power of religious faith and belief in Divine injunctions and the inevitability of return to the Creator, of parental influence and control lovingly exercised for providing new entrants into the community to which all its members are devoted, of teachers and instructors loyally preparing their pupils to take useful and honourable parts in the organisation and functioning of the community—all these formative forces have collapsed in the face of the modern surge towards total freedom. **In the endeavour of the State to ensure equal opportunities and benefits to all citizens, free education, free medical care and welfere**, generous unemployment benefits commencing from the earliest age of employability, have been provided at the cost of the productive sections of society, whose groaning under the weight of such taxes as they cannot evade, is a part of the background music of the economic state. They are freely accepted and utilised by the young, without any sense of obligation, in respect of their own response and behaviour. Organised assaults by students on the governing authorities of the most respected universities, colleges and schools belong to the order of the day. Parents are powerless once their children learn the use of a latchkey. Despairing of reaching the minds of the young through the inculcation of belief in a Divine Creator and Protector, of faith in the goodness of God, of fear of a day of reckoning, the ministers of religion are increasingly having recourse to the media of forgetfulness and abandon, such as deafening music and rock-and-roll dancing, that the young demand, in order to maintain a minimal contract. It seems to be no sign of degeneracy that in England, investigations have recently found among persons accused and convicted of gross crimes against property, such as burglary and robbery, no sense of any wrong-doing, much less of remorse. The secularist freedom of thought finds justification for these, as well as for most other crimes. A short step in argument could eliminate the moral and political foundations on which the agencies of order and justice have hitherto been functioning. Already, in several western countries, where regard for the interests of the accused person in a

criminal proceeding transcends all considerations of community needs, and where the suffering party is in certain cases compensated at the cost of the State, these agencies find themselves in great difficulty in the performance of their statutory duties. The whole philosophy of right and wrong is thrown into doubt and confusion, through disregard of the interests of the community resulting from over-emphasis on defending the rights of the individual, as they have been formulated by law and judicial decision.

Secularism is a spreading doctrine, particularly because it cherishes absence of restraint as a delectable good, and recognises no frontiers. The affluent state is expected to provide the instruments to contain the excesses of its devotees, until they become universal practice. So viewed, the ultimate result can be foreseen as "red ruin and the breaking-up of laws". But in a more sober light, consistent with the orderly march of human progress, the exercise of freedom of thought is capable of being regarded as a necessary solvent of the incrustation and stagnation by which any operative idea, however perfectly adapted to the conditions in which it was born and gained implementation, becomes corrupt and an impediment to community advancement, through the growth around it of vested interests and resultant authority, that is resistant to adaptatory requirements. This happens in all spheres—in systems of law and government, in institutional practices, in social norms and customs, even in the intellectual field, as in literary and artistic criticism. Until the protecting authority is converted or broken down by the exercise of free thought, granted to those who are capable of it, the blight will remain to impede the march of contemporaneity, and even of human progress. But are there no norms to which secularism must respond? Is it wholly irresponsible, or **must** its initiatives arise out of, and be addressed to the advantage of, human affairs? Do human affairs have an end and a purpose, and if so, what is that purpose ?

It has been well said that the corollary to the free acceptance of a system is a total denial of it. This principle could be applied to the 'youth revolt' phenomenon of the present time in the West, if the generations be regarded as a continuous stream of humanity, though the young would probably prefer to say that they were only born into the system, and its acceptance by their forbears means

nothing to them. It is pertinent to enquire what the system is, and on what philosophical basis it rests. We must go back to the Greek philosophers to find the origins. Aristotle said: "Man is a creature formed for the life of the City-State", a somewhat restrictive formulation, which is better expressed for wider application by saying that the human mind attains fullness of capacity only in a community which is like-minded in general, but allows freedom of thought to the individual. The reforming individual mind, to attain its full capacity is restricted by its need of a community within and in relation to which it can operate at its best. It cannot take the freedom it claims to the extent of doing or saying anything destructive or gravely damaging to the continued and healthy existence of the community. The Greek philosophers emphasised this aspect when they found the possibility of a higher life in some form of organisation, which would employ to the best effect, all the potentialities of the material surroundings as well as the talents of the whole people. In this, they saw hope of an "upspringing of life", and fulfilment of a **Divine purpose.** The Greek concept of the Divine was, of course, polytheistic, besides being founded on myths. With one difference, and that of a fundamental kind, Rousseau, on whose doctrines the theories underlying present-day democracy in the West mainly rest, said much the same thing. He saw the State as the realisation of the idea of the common life of an essentially social being, expressing and sustaining the human will at its best. But he had no use for a "Divine purpose" giving vitality and orientation to the effort of such a human society, and the reason is plainly that, writing in the 18th century, he was only too conscious of the great torture and confusion that the affairs of the European countries had suffered in the long period of the religious wars. That difference, to my way of thinking, furnishes the main cause of the disorientation that is today affecting the democratic societies of the West.

Rousseau was seeking a synthesis of the individual with the community of which he was a member on the basis that the freedom of the individual remained unaffected, and yet, by declaring his unity with the rest, he gained defence and protection for himself and his goods, through the common force of the community. Thus a moral collective comes into being, whose vital personality Rousseau described as the General Will. To bring about this result, it was

necessary to assume that the will of each individual member would rise above his own immediate interests, and would operate for the benefit of the community, in conformity with what human nature, individually and collectively, demands. The idea that the average person could be thus impelled towards a good extending beyond himself is believed to have established its validity through the experience of democracies, but it is nevertheless conceded that a mere plurality of the voters does not represent the corporate nature, and one often hears phrases such as "brute majorities" and "the tyranny of majorities". For the undeniable fact is that today, nearly 200 years after Rousseau, two centuries of remarkable expansion in education and civilization, voters cannot be expected to rise above their "particular localized and self-regarding opinions". What may possibly have had some validity in assumption at a time, when ancient religious and institutional tradition, culture, social structure and practice were still operative on men's minds, is a mere illusion today when these determinative elements in the general character have been reduced to ashes in "the white light of enlightenment and secularization".

Rousseau's belief in the rightness of the General Will was such that he equated its content with the "humanistic spirit". He went further in finding an analogy between humanism and the Divine Reason which is the source of the laws and discipline of the "ideal polity" in the Greek concept. How strong or weak is the power humanism, as a force towards good, even the good of the affected community itself, can be seen today in the experience of many countries which are or have been affected by racial conflicts. Individual interests being marshalled on racial lines, and the governing force being merely the supposedly rational human will and intellect, the antibiotic temper comes easily to the surface, seeking to destroy by methods, some of a gradual nature such as economic sanctions, but others much more swift. Humanism is professed on both sides, but how far removed is it from being analogous to "Divine Reason"!

The age-old belief that a universally valid conception of law and order is possible, that men should regard all as their fellow-citizens, feeding as in a common pasture, under a joint law has indeed been given some concrete shape in the form of liberal institutions that have grown up during the last hundred years. But these are pro-

ving to be easily capable of being exploited by those of a counter-revolutionary temper who, in the name of "total freedom" seek to break down even the minimum of restraint that is necessary to preserve the essentials of orderly existence. There is no human agency which shows more meticulous regard for the rights of the individual than the judicial courts. Yet instances of the judicial process being reduced to a mockery by accused persons are now multiplying with some rapidity in a country where liberal institutions are maintained at a high level—the United States of America, and are being freely exploited by lawyers and publicists for monetary gain.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights equally stresses the right of the individual, as such, to exercise a number of freedoms, to enjoy a number of immunities, and to receive at the hands of the State, very considerable benefits. Article I enjoins a spirit of brotherhood among humans, as self-respecting beings. The next Article which stresses a community spirit is Article 29 which goes so far as to say:

> "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible",

but no indication of the extent of these duties is afforded. What is said immediately after tends to restrict the individual under such sanctions as are provided by law only to the extent of doing no injury to another, or to the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare. Commitment to the total interest of the community involves much more than merely staying within the legal limits aforesaid. But the rights are set out in strictly legal terms of which, under modern judicial procedures, the fullest advantage can be taken, and not only by scrupulous means, or consistently with the benefit of the community. **In the Islamic ethic, the community comes first**. The Holy *Qur'an* puts it in the following terms: "There is not an animal on the earth, nor anything that flies on wings, but in communities like yourselves" (vi. 38), and the stress is again on communal duties in the following verses :

> "Worship none but God ;
> Treat with kindness your parents and kindred
> and orphans and those in need;
> Speak fair to the people.

So steadfast in prayer;
Practise regular charity;
Shed no blood among you;
Hearken to the Law". (ii, 83, 84, 93)

The Declaration of Human Rights enjoins equality of enjoyment of rights and freedoms, and in particular equality before the law, in terms of considerable detail. The Holy *Qur'an* puts the matter in the widest terms in the following verse :

"In the Law of Equality, there is life to you, that ye may restrain yourselves". (ii, 179)

A more clear statement of the rule of **equality of all human beings than that** contained in the last Sermon of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) can scarcely be conceived. This is how it was put :

"O people! Surely your God is one
And surely your progenitor is one;
Every one of you is Adam's progeny
And Adam was from earth.
The one who fears God most stands
highest before God.
And an Arab has no precedence over a non-Arab
Except through his degree of piety".

The Declaration gives the right to approach the law courts for securing rights. In the Holy Q*ur'an*, the duty of allowing rights and doing justice is placed on the whole community, as the following verses clearly indicate :

"Stand out firmly for God, as witnesses to fair dealing and let not hatred for others cause you to depart from justice and swerve towards wrong. Be just: that is next to piety". (v. 9)

"If thou judge, judge in equity, for God loveth those who judge in equity". (v. 45)

Justice is no secular quality or function; it is enjoined as an act which is equivalent to standing out firmly for God, an act which

honestly performed attracts the love of God. In the dispensation of justice is involved the ascertainment of a right. Rights among members of a numerous community are multifarious, and it is a tenable view that to specify a few does not enhance the prospect of justice. In the famous Letter of Instructions issued by Hazrat Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet (peace be on him), in the capacity of Caliph of Islam to a newly-appointed Governor, Malik Ashtar, the duty of recognising and allowing the rights of all citizens is stated, with comprehensive precision, in the following words :

> "Remember that the people are composed of different classes. The progress of one is dependent on the progress of every other, and none can afford to be independent of the other. We have the army formed of the soldiers of God, we have our civil officers and their establishments, our judiciary, our revenue collectors and our agents. The general public itself consists of Muslims and *Zimmis* and among them of merchants and craftsmen, the unemployed and the indigent. **God has prescribed for them their several rights, duties and obligations. They are all defined and preserved in the Book of God and in the traditions of His Prophet".**
>
> "There are the rights of all these classes over the Administration which the Administrator has to meet **with an eye on the good of the entire population,** a duty which he cannot perform properly unless he takes personal interest in its execution and **seeks help from God".**
>
> "Let your mind respect through your actions the rights of God and the rights of men...... **For otherwise you will be doing injustice to yourself and injustice to humanity. Thus both man and God will turn into your enemies.** There is no audience anywhere for one who makes an enemy of God Himself. Until he feels contrition and seeks forgiveness, he will be regarded as one at war with God".

These injunctions were issued to a person in whose hands all the powers of the State were to be concentrated, to be exercised in a Province, and the directions as to recognition of rights have a

parallel with the provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights, which also are addressed to States. These few extracts sufficiently illuminate the difference between the Islamic view of individual rights and the modern secular view. The catalogue of classified rights and duties is to be found in Islam "in the Book of God and in the traditions of His Prophet". All rights are to be met "with an eye on the good of the entire population", to the good of the community, and not only to the claim set up. The agent of the State must seek help from God in the dispensation of right and justice, bearing as well in mind "the rights of God and the rights of man", for otherwise he will be doing injustice to himself and to humanity, and incur the wrath of both God and man. It is difficult to provide a more closely and comprehensively integrated statement of the considerations that, in the view of Islam, apply to the ascertainment of an individual right and its vindication.

The Declaration of Human Rights exhibits solicitude for the provision, as a matter of right, for social security and welfare relief, particularly "in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood". In the Holy *Qur'an*, the duty of helping the needy is stressed in a great many verses of which I shall cite only one :

> "It is righteousness to believe in God, and the Last Day, and the Angels and the Book and the Messengers;
>
> to spend of your substance out of love for God, for your Kin, **for orphans, for the needy,** for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves;
>
> to be steadfast in prayer and **practise regular charity;**
>
> to fulfil the contracts you have made, and to be firm and patient in pain and adversity, and through all periods of panic". (ii. 177)

The Caliph Ali gave a very clear direction to his Governor on this aspect of his duties, in the following words:

> "Fear God when dealing with the problem of the poor who have none to protect them, who are forlorn, indigent and helpless and

are greatly torn in mind—victims of the vicissitudes of Time. Among them there are some who do not question their lot in life, and who notwithstanding their misery, do not go abegging. For God's sake, safeguard their rights, for on you rests the responsibility of protection. Assign for their uplift a portion of the State Exchequer (*Bait-ul-Mal*) wherever they may be, whether close or distant—Do not let any preoccupations cause you to forget them. No excuse whatsoever for the disregard of their rights will be acceptable to God".

"Make such provision for these poor people as shall not oblige you to offer an excuse before God on the Day of Judgement—Seek your reward from God by giving to each of them what is due to him and make it your sacred duty to meet the needs of such aged persons among them as have no independent means of livelihood and are averse to seeking alms.—Societies that are gifted with foresight are those which faithfully carry out with equanimity, **their covenant with God to discharge their duty to the poor".**

That was said during the infancy of the State of Islam, twelve and a half centuries ago, and it is still binding through the institution of *Zakat*, on every Muslim State. It puts the relief of the poor and distressed on a much higher plane of obligation than any that the corresponding provision in the Declaration can claim.

Matters such as the right to freedom of movement within one's country, the right to acquire and hold property, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to work in an occupation of one's choice and to receive just remuneration, which receive special mention in the Declaration are indeed matters of immemorial practice among the Muslim communities, and it is unnecessary to cite any provision concerning them in the Scriptures of Islam. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion is made the subject of an Article, and this too is nothing new in Islam. Total independence is granted in this respect by the following verses in the Holy *Qur'an*:

"Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from Error. Whoever rejects evil and believes in God has grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold that never breaks".

(ii. 256)

"To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an **open way**. If God has so willed, He could have made you a **single people"**. (v. 51)

"If it had been God's will, all who are on earth would have believed. **Shall mankind be compelled, against their will to believe ?"** (x. 99)

The Declaration stresses the right to education, and indicates the kind of education to be imparted, with special reference to the furtherance of international amity and "of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace". There is a lack of universality in this direction, for the United Nations claims the right to exclude from its fold nations, great and small, at its discretion under the Charter. But the cause of peace can never be anything but dear to Islam, for the name itself means Peace. And as for universal education, it has, throughout history, been the practice in Muslim countries to provide free education in the religious *Maktabs*, which is directed, according to the tenets of Islam "to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms", as is prescribed by the Declaration.

I have not attempted a study in detail, but I feel no doubt, being aware of the great range of detailed provision for individual, communal, and State behaviour, attitudes and actions that is afforded by the Holy *Qur'an*, the traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) and the moral writings of Islam that nothing enjoined in the Declaration can have escaped treatment in Islam, if not specifically, yet in princicíple.

But what is important, for my present purpose, is the clear fact that every such provision made the Scriptures of Islam is placed, by assertion, firstly of Divine obligation and secondly of communal rights and duties, at a much higher level of imposition than anything contained in the Declaration of Human Rights. As I have said, in the Declaration, the emphasis is placed, or in other words, the dice are loaded in advance, in favour of the individual as against the State and the community. Legal language is employed, which has over the centuries acquired the quality that in the hands of lawyers, with

the aid of a few basic presumptions, it lends itself more readily to the development of "total freedom" than to the safety and security or the community or the State. It is no wonder that by intensification of support for the individual against the State, on the basis of the philosophy of Rousseau, there is now an attack on the structure of the ethical system which has so carefully been built up among the European nations during the past century. To mention only one matter, the concept of obscenity has in the western countries being mulled over by the Courts to such an extent that mass exhibitions of nudism, and the performance of natural and unnatural sexual acts on the stage are now tolerated by the authorities and apparently very much enjoyed by the general population. The prohibition in Islam against indecency is absolute. The following verses make that clear:

"I will rehearse to you what God prohibits,

(a) join not anything as equal with him,

(b) be not vicious to your parents,

(c) kill not your children on the plea of want—We provide sustenance for you and for them,

(d) **come not nigh to shameful deeds whether open or secret**,

(e) take not life which God has made sacred, except by way of justice and law,

(f) come not nigh to the orphan's property, except to improve it until he attains maturity,

(g) do not give false weight or measure,

(h) do not speak falsely, even if a near relative is concerned". (vi. 151, 152)

"O children of Adam! We have bestowed clothing upon you to cover your shame, and also to be an ornament, but the raiment of righteousness is best". (vii. 26)

"God never commands what is shameful". (vii. 28)

"The Prophet Lut forbade his people against unimaginable lewdness and homosexuality among males. They thrust him out and were themselves destroyed". (vii. 80)

The Declaration only provides for this in negative form, by saying that the only controls over the exercise of his rights and freedoms by an individual shall be such as are imposed by law *inter alia* for "meeting the just requirements of morality". The agencies of justice in western countries by favouring an individual litigant with a judgement approving an act of obscenity, have opened the flood-gates to mass exhibitions of lewd, shameful and obscene acts.

Where is the corrective for these tendencies to be found ? Against these destructive Jacobin assaults, now presented in sophisticated form through the very agencies that liberalism had set up to make the people free, what defences can be raised ? It has been truly said that while the generation that still holds charge of affairs has retained its appetite for law-and-order, for freedom, justice and good government, they have forgotten how to secure and maintain them. "The art of guardianship has been lost". In the onrush of radical change, that has simultaneously devalued the directive force of religion, tradition and all institutional authority, the keepers of the watch are left with no treasure to safeguard. The Islamic injunction is otherwise. The Caliph Ali, in the same Letter of Instruc tion that has been quoted from, laid down the following prescription to meet just such danger. He said:

> "Do not disregard the noble traditions set by our forebears, which have promoted harmony and progress among the people, and do not initiate anything which might minimise their usefulness. The men who had established these noble traditions have had their reward, but responsibility will be yours if they are disturbed. Try always to learn something from the experience of the learned and wise, and frequently consult them in State matters, so that you might maintain the peace and goodwill which your predecessors had established in the land".

A young generation that takes delight in bearding Vice-Chancellors in their studies might receive such a statement with a hollow laugh, but in an Islamic country, the laugh would soon be taken off their faces. Tradition, bolstered by the unalterable dictates of holy religion, still rides high among us.

It may be asked—is there any room for democracy organised in the modern mode in the Islamic political ethic? The rule of

election of the Caliph by the companions was in force from the beginning, and acceptance through investiture (*baya*) by the *ahl al-aqd wa-l-hall* was standard procedure. Consultation of the people's representatives before any action by those placed in authority over them has always been the rule in Islam. These may be put down as mere practice, but the quality of a government where the citizens have total freedom to do as they please, all are equal and no one has mastery over another, so that the Governor only governs with the explicit consent of the governed has been considered by Al-Farabi (died 950 A.D.) and has found to suffer from lack of integration. It contained good and bad features, and out of it, there could develop states of an imperfect kind designated *ishaliva* by Al-Farabi. These include mere subsistence states, states where wealth is pursued for its own sake, timocratic states where the ruling passion is for honour, tyrannous states and several other varieties. It is a matter for observation which kind of state succeeds a liberal democracy in which, by excess of freedom, the ethical system has been torn to shreds, as is happening today.

This brings me to the close of my argument, and I am happy to end it on a note of optimism. As I have said earlier, Pakistan came into being already equipped with representative institutions, and blessed with a population which had already been schooled into the practices and attitudes of democracy. The egalitarian temper of Islam ruled the scene, despite the existence of caste ideas and practices among a section of the non-Muslim population. There was a public system of education, whose one defect in the aspect of development of a uniform ethical system, was that from a fairly low level, instruction was imparted in a foreign language, namely English. A complete system of judicature was established and in efficient operation, whose one defect, in the same aspect, was that from a fairly low level of decision upwards, everything was done in the English language. In Europe, the mediaeval language of education and law, namely Latin, was not replaced by the national languages until some six centuries had passed since its introduction. But there the national languages had to develop from a primitive condition before they could accept the challenge. That difficulty does not face us, for our principal languages, *Urdu and Bengali*, were already well-developed when British rule in India commenced. But the dislodging of a foreign language, particularly in the ceaseless and ever-growing

current of litigation through the Courts, is no simple matter, and as I have pointed out, the task is not made easier by the circumstance that knowledge of that language, which still is the official language, carries with it favoured position in the corridors of power, of justice and of learning. A major effort is necessary and, God willing, will be undertaken.

It is when one observes what is happening to the ethical system on which democracy in the West is founded that the ray of hope emerges. Here in Pakistan, it has been laid down in two Constitutions that "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, social justice, *as enunciated by Islam* shall be fully observed in Pakistan". It is on Islam that the ethical system, which is the canvas out of which our democratic institutions are to rise, as a self-patterning and self-developing embroidery, is to be founded. And in Islam, the norms are firmly laid. The rights, duties and obligations are prescribed for all faithful citizens of Pakistan by the Almighty. In the words of the Caliph Ali, already quoted:

> "They are all defined and preserved in the Book of God and the traditions of His Prophet".

They have been codified in the *Sharia*. Students of the political philosophy of Islam will be aware that while the *falasifa* of the tenth to the twelfth centuries drew light from, at the same time as they illuminated and projected the speculations of the Greek philosophers, they did so, with one significant difference. Both were agreed that without law there could be no State. For the Greeks, the ideal was a State for which the norms were set by the *nomos*, the natural law, the best law that human reason could devise. The purpose of the *nomos* was to enable the philosopher-rulers of the State to reach the highest perfection. It was not for the common person. Though the Greeks referred to "divine reason", in relation to the *nomos*, their concept of divinity was founded on myths and centred in rational man. The Muslim philosophers, on the other hand, starting with Al-Farabi and ending with Ibn Rushd, replaced the *nomos* by the *Sharia*, the law revealed by God to the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) for the happiness of mankind as a whole, in both words including both the masses as well as the intellectuals. The fundamental maxim of the *nomos* was "Know

thyself", and the Muslim philosophers were fully aware that they were placing their standard at a much higher level, and far more widely, when they postulated as their norm, the *Sharia* whose maxim was "Know and love God in willing obedience to His Commandments".

Not only was it higher and wider, but it also has the quality of greater permanence, assuming the existence of a large proportion of those faithful to their religion, among the population. That is the enduring hope of Pakistan in its development towards a stable democracy. When the ethical system is founded on Divine law, so long as the Divinity holds sway in men's minds, there is a strong hope that the secularist movement towards "total freedom" uninhibited self expression, or general abandonment to the gratification of, merely human desires and impulses, will never come over the scene, to tear the ethical system to shreds.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
16 April, 1970.

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Shams-i-Hamdard, Karachi,
16 April, 1970.

MR. JUSTICE SHEIKH ABDUL HAMID

It is my privilege to welcome you, to the monthly forum of Sham-i-Hamdard, *which undoubtedly gives you much inspiration as the Guest Speakers, invited to address you from its rostrum, are invariably of high calibre and great repute in the socio-literary world. This time you will be benefited not only from the secular but also religious point of view, as the subject chosen for the whole of this year relates to various aspects of the life of our Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The theme for this month, therefore, is Muhammad as a Jurist, i.e., one well-versed in law.*

Laws, may be defined as the body of principles recognised, framed and enacted by a legislative assembly or the parliament of the country and applied by the State through its legal courts. The principles are usually leased on positive morality, public opinion, customs and conventions, particularly in the light of the beliefs which the majority of the people of a country follow according to the religion of the State. As Pakistan and all the Muslim countries follow one religion, i.e. Islam, they observe almost one set of laws based on the teachings of Islam.

Since the Holy Qur'an *and the Sunnah are the greatest and the only source of all Islamic teachings and are also the basis of all aspects of social life of the Muslims, they contain the laws which bind all the adherents in one bond of unity. Whatever has been given briefly in the Holy* Qur'an *by Almighty God, has been elaborated further and fully explained by the Prophet (peace be upon him). And whatever has not been given in the* Qur'an *but left at the discretion of His Apostle, has also been formulated by him. Therefore the Prophet is rightly considered and elevated as the first and the greatest jurist as far as the Islamic laws are concerned. Even after almost fourteen hundred years, during which most of the social orders have changed, all Muslim and most of the non-Muslim scholars, interpreters and commentators believe and admit the an-*

thenticity and validity of such laws and corroborate them to the established facts of modern legal structure, because of the perfection of their form and method. The Muslims can also claim that the Islamic laws, as formulated by the Holy Prophet, have exercised a most potent influence upon the world legal order, which will prove their universality in the field of jurisprudence and also their incomparable excellence as a proof of their Divine origin.

Mr. Justice Sheikh Abdul Hamid (Rtd), who himself is a great jurist as well as a true Muslim, will prove most competent to speak on the delicate subject of this evening. He needs no introduction to this distinguished gathering as all of you have heard him speaking on various subjects. As a Judge of the West Pakistan High Court and later as the Principal of Law College, University of Peshawar, he is well-known to all of us.

Hakim Mohammed Said



MR. JUSTICE SHEIKH ABDUL HAMID

PROPHET MUHAMMAD AS A JURIST

Mr. Justice Sheikh Abdul Hamid

THOUGH there is no data to measure the age of the Creation, yet the guesses of the scientists are that 'man' appeared on earth, in his present shape, about a millennium ago and led a wandering life in search of food and shelter, and shed human blood to remove obstacles standing in his way. It is reference to this state of affairs in the *Qur'an*, in the dialogue between Allah and the angels, when they said to Allah after knowing His intention to create 'Man': "Are you creating one who will ferment turmoil on earth and will shed blood".

This prophecy of the angels came true and soon after his appearance on earth, Man started shedding blood over food and women, and on that track he is even today.

There was no political organization then for keeping peace and order in the society, and preventing lawlessness and transgressions on others' rights. This task was entrusted by Allah to His Prophets whom He sent from time to time. Moses who was the first law giver came with divine commandments forbidding murder, theft and adultery. After him came other prophets with this mission, the last of whom was Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Since he was to be the last to transmit Allah's messages and laws to mankind and as those messages and laws had to be good for all times and places, his mission had to be larger than that of his predecessors. He had to cover almost all aspects of human life in all places and at all times and his Code, therefore, had to be a perfect one. But in this progressive and changing world perfection is also changeable. It can be achieved only if fundamental principles are prescribed and descent to details is left to changes in times and places, as details change with periods and regions.

Islam had therefore to prescribe fundamental principles of law and morality from which rules relating to details had to be deduced from time to time and from place to place to accord with the conditions then prevalent. From Allah's commandments in the *Qur'an* Muslim Jurists deduced "Five Fundamental Principles" belonging to the field of law. The aim of legislation in Islam is to secure compliance with these principles. These principles, called "*Kulyat-i-Khamsa*", are:

(1) Protection of Life,

(2) Protection of Property,

(3) Protection of Religion, (دين)

(4) Protection of Descent, and

(5) Protection of Reason.

According to the calculation of Muslim jurists there are 227 verses in the *Qur'an* dealing with eleven legal matters, like Inheritance, Marriage, Dower, Divorce, Gifts, Wills, Sales (contract), Guardianship, Maintenance and Offences (crimes). It is obvious that this was not enough for this changing and progressive world. *Qur'an* could not, therefore, prescribe laws for all the different situations which were to arise from time to time and from place to place. It was left to the jurists of the succeeding periods to devise laws for the situations confronting them in the light of those fundamental principles and also in conformity with other Qur'anic injunctions.

Prophet Muhammad was the first Jurist of Islam who gave guidance to Muslims in this field. He legislated for the situations which arose in his days In his legal dictums we have another divine source of law, to which all Islamic legislation has to conform. There are commands from Allah enjoining obedience to his ordinances as well. He says:

وما اتاكم الرسول فخذوه ، وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا -

[Tr: Hold fast to what the Prophet gives to you,
And abstain from what he forbids].

He also said:

ومن يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله

[Tr: Whoever the Prophet, he obeys Allah].

That is why it is being said, and correctly so, that no state can be Islamic if its laws are in conflict with *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. *Sunnah* means what the Prophet said, what he did, and what he approved in other peoples' conduct.

This paper deals with the role which Prophet Muhammad played as legislator and jurist. There is guidance in his role in this field for Muslims of all periods and all regions. Legislation in Islam should everywhere conform to the spirit and essence behind Qur'anic injunctions and the Prophet's *Sunnah*.

Sales and Contract

In all civilized systems of jurisprudence 'consent' is an essential element of contract. But consent in law means consent of a man capable of making correct estimate of the gains and losses arising out of the transaction under negotiation. In this connection, the Prophet said that consent as a condition of contract must be free from compulsion, fraud and mistake. His famous words are, "My *Ummah* has been exonerated from responsibility arising from compulsion, fraud and mistake". The idea behind this principle is to save a party to a deal from undue loss. In a just and fair transaction it is necessary that the party suffering loss by parting with his property must receive benefit of equal value in return. In the words of Bentham, an eminent jurist and philosopher, "pain caused by loss should be compensated by the pleasure obtainable from return".

To avoid fraud and deception which causes loss to a party without conferring corresponding gain upon him, the Prophet ordained that the article of sale must be present at the time of sale and must be available for inspection. If it is not present, and has to be supplied later, it shall be clearly specified in quality and quantity. He also said in this connection that the article to be sold should

be in the possession of the vendor. This is necessary to foreclose disputes relating to delivery of possession. To ensure that the article to be sold is the property of the vendor and not of anybody else, he enjoined that grain purchased for sale from one place in a market, should be removed to another place in the market. It should be clearly separated from the source from which the vendor purchased it.

With respect to option to rescind a contract of sale, he said that the option remains with the parties till they depart from the scene of transaction. But if there is a condition with respect to the exercise of that option in some other manner then that condition will bind the contract.

He laid stress upon disclosure of defects in the article under sale. If a defect remains undisclosed and is detected by the purchaser later, he has the right to rescind the contract on the discovery of the defect.

He condemned as illegal all transactions bearing the taint of speculation and gambling. Some people in those days used to spread their goods for sale at their shops and the buyer used to throw pebbles on the articles whtch he wanted to purchase, and the article on which the pebble fell became the article of sale. This was prohibited by him because there was element of gambling in it.

For the same reason he prohibited the sale of animal in the womb of the mother, unripe fruit on trees, and fish in the water. Fruit is allowed to be sold when it is ripe for collection

He forbade the stocking of grain and withholding it from sale for causing scarcity and then selling it at high price. He disallowed the sale of female animal after keeping it un-milched for two or three days. There is element of deception in it.

Exchange of fresh dates with dry dates and dates lying in heaps with dates actually weighed was also forbidden because there is element of speculation in these transactions.

People in Madina used to go out of the city to meet people coming from outside with goods for sale and used to buy goods from

them there. He forbade this practice and said that the outsiders should be allowed to bring their goods to the market and sell them there. He allowed to those outsiders only the right to rescind the sale if on arrival in the market they found that price in the market is higher than what they had received.

He disallowed bidding for an article which is under negotiations with another person. There is a danger that the bidder may be doing so for raising price for the vendor's benefit only.

If an article has been sold to two persons, according to his edict, the first purchaser has the right to it.

If fruit sold on the tree is destroyed by natural calamity before it was collected by the purchaser, the purchaser has the right to the money paid by him as its price.

It is unlawful, according to his injunction, to claim wages for any work which is *haram*, like making idols or preparing wine. No price can be claimed for the sale of an idol, or wine or dog. Interest cannot be claimed either.

In a beautiful phrase he laid down this legal principle: "**Gains go with responsibility**". A man bought a slave but defect in the slave was not disclosed to the buyer. On the discovery of the defect the buyer returned the slave to the vendor. The vendor claimed wages for the work which the slave had done for him during the interval. The Prophet rejected his claim saying "**Gains go with responsibility**." The buyer was responsible for feeding the slave. He was under the risk of losing him if he had died during that interval.

According to his rule the vendor has lien for his price on the article sold by him.

If there arises any dispute between the vendor and the purchaser over the sale of an article and that article is present, in that event, according to the Prophet's rule the vendor should be believed in his statement. The buyer has in that case the option of either accepting that statement or rejecting it. If he accepts it, the dispute ends. If he rejects it, the article goes back to the vendor. This

is an illustration of the well-known legal principle under which parties are restored to *status quo*.

It is a fundamental principle of Jurisprudence that in all transactions, gains and losses on both sides should be equal. According to this principle a transaction is void if there is gain on one side and total loss on the other. In the injunctions laid down by the Prophet are the flashes of this juristic principle.

Law of Insolvency

He did not leave this branch of law untouched. He took possession of the property of his companion Maaz who had become insolvent, sold it and distributed the sale proceeds amongst his creditors. He also ordained that if a creditor finds his goods in the possession of his insolvent debtor he has the right to take it back from him. There is more justice in this principle than in the principle of the law of insolvency current today under which the price of such article is distributed amongst other creditors as well.

According to his injunction water in a well, wild grass, and fire are common properties. A stick can be lit from another man's fire but not in a manner to extinguish the fire. About water in a water channel he said that it is the property of all the riparian owners; but one such owner can hold it up to irrigate his field but only till water in the field is ankle deep.

He prohibited trespass on other people's land. But he said that if there is a piece of land which has never been in anybody's cultivation or occupation, any Muslim can bring it under his cultivation or can enclose it with a hedge or wall. This is in accordance with the well-known principle of Jurisprudence which recognizes ownership of property by "first occupation".

Law of Pre-emption

He is the author of this branch of law which was not in existence anywhere before. According to the rule laid down by him, a partner in an immovable property, land or house, has preferential right to purchase the share of his co-partner. Strangers can buy only with

other partner's consent or on their refusal to buy it. On the same principle, he gave preferential right of purchase to those who, along with the vendor have right of passage over the path leading to the property intended to be sold. These rules were devised to keep the strangers out of partnership because introduction of undesirable persons generally leads to disputes. By this rule, he closed all avenues of disputes.

Leases

According to a custom prevalent in Arabia when land was leased to a tenant for cultivation, tenant's share of the produce was fixed by earmarking a portion of the field for him and he gathered his share of the produce from that portion. It so happened that sometime tenant's portion of the land and sometime landlord's portion did not yield any crop at all, or not enough to compensate the partner for whom it was preserved. There was an element of gambling in it. He, therefore, prohibited this practice and ordained that the produce of the entire field should be collected and distributed between the landlord and the tenant according to the shares agreed upon. He insisted that the shares should be determined beforehand. He did not permit lease for more than one year.

If the fruit of a tree is given on lease and the fruit is destroyed by natural calamity, the landlord has to return the lease money to the lessee.

Master and Servant

He permitted service on payment of wages. He himself, before his prophethood, grazed goats of Meccans for wages and also paid wages to those who served him during his prophethood. He insisted that labourer's wages should be paid to him before his sweat dries on his forehead.

Gift

Gifts are permissible according to the Prophet's traditions, and except that a father can revoke a gift made by him to his son, all

other gifts are irrevocable. Gift to the son by the father is revocable only if the property gifted is available in the shape in which it was at the time of gift. But if it has been converted into another shape, like land converted into a building, it is irrevocable even if it were made by a father to his son. This distinction shows how sublime was the pristine mind of its author.

Gifts for life are permissible according to his command.

But he condemned gifts to one heir in preference to other heirs This he did because it breeds contempt and ill-feeling in the heart of other heirs against him. One so preferred becomes the victim of jealousy.

He permitted dedication of land to God and gift for religious purposes.

He also recognized conditional gift of a peculiar kind called "*Raqba*". It is a gift to which a condition is attached to the effect that if the donee dies before the donor, the gifted property reverts to the donor, but if the donor dies first the property becomes donee's absolute property. The beauty of the rule is obvious.

If anybody comes across any unclaimed property he can take possession of it but he should continue to announce this fact, according to one's tradition, for 40 days and, according to another, for one year. He can appropriate it thereafter if the original owner fails to turn up and it remains unclaimed. But if the owner comes and claims it after it has been consumed the consumer has to pay to the owner its price.

But appropriation without announcement and publicity was condemned by him as an act of misappropriation. (خيانت).

He also said in this connection that announcement should be witnessed by two witnesses so that the finder of unclaimed property may not be tempted to missappropriate it, or if the claimant comes to claim it after the finder's death his heirs may not inherit it as their father's property.

Will

He forbade wills in favour of heirs who are already heirs under Allah's command. He prohibited it because this curtails the shares of other heirs. He was against causing loss by will to legitimate heirs and termed it as interference in God's commands. He also wanted to save preferred heirs from becoming object of jealousy.

Inheritance

According to the Prophet's tradition, an infidel (مشرک) heir cannot succeed to a Muslim's property nor can a Muslim heir succeed to the estate of an infidel (مشرک) relative.

No Muslim can be an heir to the property of one whom he has killed. Without such a ban there is a danger of heirs killing their ancestors, to accelerate succession.

According to another rule laid down by him succession to the property of a deceased person is deferred till an heir in the womb, if there be one, is born. If he is born alive he succeeds to the property, and if he is born dead, he does not. A child, according to his rule, is born dead, if he dies before crying while coming out of the mother's womb. Crying at that time is the sign of life. He will be considered alive if he dies after crying.

An illegitimate son is not an heir, nor one who is born out of connection which has been subject matter of ties, *i.e.* if adultery is attributed to a couple and a child is born out of such adulterous connection.

Marriage or *Nikah*

He insisted that every Muslim who can afford to pay dower and can maintain a wife should contract marriage. Dower can be in cash or in goods.

But he forbade exchange marriages where dower is neither in cash nor in goods, where a man gives his sister in marriage to another man and takes his sister in return as wife.

Dower debt according to the Prophet's injunction has precedence over all other debts and is an essential condition of *nikah*.

No *nikah* is valid without the consent of the parties. Silence of the party to a marriage proposal amounts to assent. But father's consent is necessary if the girl is minor.

He permitted seeing of the girl before *nikah*.

Two witnesses to the *nikah* are necessary.

In addition to interdiction of marriages between relations mentioned in the *Qur'an*, he said that those prohibitions apply to foster relations as well. Foster relations stand in the same position as real relations. He also prohibited second marriage with a woman who stands as aunt or niece to an existing wife.

In order to avoid jealousy he prohibited people from sending messages of marriage for a girl for whose hand another person is in negotiation.

He enjoined publicity of marriage so that the fact may be as widely known as possible.

Divorce

He condemned divorce as the most abominable act in the eyes of God. He allowed it only when without it married life becomes intolerable.

But there can be no divorce if the *nikah* was not accompanied with dower. Divorce would then be not necessary for effecting separation.

But no woman can be divorced during the period of pregnancy, that is until she is delivered of the child in the womb.

A divorced woman has to abstain from another marriage until the period of *Iddat* expires and during this period she has to be maintained by the husband.

A husband who has divorced a woman cannot marry her again until she marries another person, obtains divorce from him and the period of *Iddat* expires. This has been enjoined to prevent people from giving divorces in haste without taking all the consequences of it into consideration.

Tort

If in a public street an animal causes hurt to a person, the owner is responsible for compensation to the injured. This is in accordance with the principle of the law of torts under which owners of animals are clothed with responsibility for the behaviour of their animals.

Criminal Law

Although ***Qur'an*** has enumerated offences and prescribed punishments for each, the Prophet also gave a few principles of criminal law.

He prescribed severe penalty of death for a person who has a wife and commits adultery with another woman. Penalty for adultery prescribed by *Qur'an* is one hundred stripes only. But the Prophet created distinction between two kinds of adulteries, adultery by a bachelor and adultery by a married man. The latter having a wife has no excuse to resort to this evil act.

He also prescribed death penalty for a Muslim who becomes an infidel. (مشرک).

He gave to man right of self defence in the exercise of which he can inflict injury on his assailant. No compensation can be demanded from him for that injury.

He holds a quack responsible for the death of a person who dies on account of his wrong treatment. In that event only compensation can be imposed upon him.

If a death sentence is passed against a woman pregnant with a child in the womb, execution of the sentence is delayed till she is delivered of the child. This is the law today in all civilized countries.

He also prevented a woman from being stoned to death, for adultery, because she had a child feeding on her breast. She was allowed to be stoned after arrangement for feeding the child was made.

If a pregnant woman is killed, compensation becomes payable for the child in the womb as well. This is an improvement on the law current today which takes no notice of the child in the womb.

I am not aware of any system where penalty falls on the killer of the child in the womb in this manner. But the justice of the law is obvious. There will be very few jurists in the world who looked for justice in such meticulous manner.

He did not allow compromise in cases in which punishment for crime was prescribed by Allah. A man committed adultery with a woman and paid compensation to her. She was ordered by the Prophet to return the compensation and the man was given prescribed punishment.

He permitted wife to take as much money out of her husband's pocket without his permission as is necessary for household expenses. It was not considered theft.

He condemned recommendations in criminal cases and said he who makes recommendations for leniency in punishments prescribed by Allah, opposes Allah.

He also said that it is better for a judge to err on the side of acquittal than to err on the side of punishment. This is in accordance with the modern principle of jurisprudence which says "it is better to acquit nine guilty persons than to convict one innocent".

In an excellent juristic phrase he epitomized principle of responsibility in these words: "There is no responsibility where there is mistake, forgetfulness and compulsion".

He prescribed scale for compensation in criminal offences in a letter addressed to the Governor of Yemen.

Compensation for causing death was fixed at 100 camels of the following ages:

20	female	of the age of one	year
20	,,	of the age of two	years
20	,,	of the age of three	years
20	,,	of the age of four	years
20	male	of the age of one	year

From this it appears how considerate he was in all matters. This scale was prepared perhaps for two reasons. In the first place it is difficult to find 100 camels of the same age if the camels of the same age had been prescribed. There could also be dispute if age had not been fixed. In that event a man would have offered either all young or all old camels. According to the scale, all camels would not die in the same period. There will always be some camels in existence in the hands of the owner.

Compensation for breaking teeth and cutting tongue is five camels. Compensation for the murder of a woman is the same as that for a man. Compensation for cutting finger is 10 camels. Compensation for hurt, when it is so deep that bone becomes visible, is five camels.

Laws of War

His injunctions to the commanders of the army were that after bringing a country under conquest, it should be their duty

(a) to be kind to the people and to give good news to them;

(b) to seek their convenience and to avoid hardship to them; and

(c) to obey each other and to avoid disobedience.

He condemned breaches of International Agreements. During the war he prohibited killing of women, children and old people and religious leaders. He also prohibited cutting of fruit-bearing and shade-giving trees, and demolition of places of worship of God. Pedestrian's share of the spoils of war was fixed by him at half of the horseman's share.

Any person seeking appointment to a public office was declared by him to be disqualified for it. Choice has to be made by the *Amir*, who has to be the people's representative.

A judge who deliberately gives wrong and unjust decision was said to be "Satan's disciple". With respect to honest judges, he said that on the Day of Judgement they will be on the right hand side of Allah.

In relation to bribe, he said that both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker will be in hell.

On judges, he enjoined equal treatment in courts for both the contestants to a suit. They were directed not to give judgement without giving hearing to each of them.

A judge is prohibited according to his rule, from giving decisions while in rage.

No suit can be lodged in a Muslim court for the recovery of anything which is forbidden (حرام), like price of wine, gambling debt, price of dog.

An animal pledged for debt can be used for riding if its maintenance is the responsibility of the pledger, but not otherwise.

He prohibited giving of false evidence. It was also a rule of evidence not to accept the evidence of people of ill repute, and of those who are hostile to the party against whom they are deposing. The evidence of a servant is not acceptable in favour of his master.

The Collector of Taxes (زكواة) was forbidden to accept gifts. He could accept gifts from those only (friends and relatives) who would have offered gifts to him if he had not been in that office.

He enjoined obedience to those in command, subject to the condition that obedience to them does not involve disobedience to Allah.

He said that almost every one of us is under some responsibility towards others, and on the day of judgement every one will have to render account to Allah for the manner in which he had discharged that responsibility.

The aim of law according to all jurists is to keep peace and order in the society, to ensure to every one the enjoyment of what is his due and to prevent transgression upon people's rights and privileges. It was towards the achievement of these aims that the Prophet strived during the whole of his life and prescribed fundamental principles of legal code. He left to the succeeding Muslims to frame laws, in consonance with the principles underlying his injunctions, to suit the conditions of their times and to serve the needs of their days.

Muslim jurists of the succeeding periods did frame laws for the situations before them through the process of *Ijma* (consensus) *Qayas* (Analogy or Deduction) and *Ijtihad*. But they always kept injunction of the *Qur'an* and of the Prophet (*Sunnah*) as their guiding stars and those processes under these limits are open to us even today.

Prophet Muhammed was born in Arabia (Mecca) where he had no opportunity to go to any school. He did not know how to read and write. Without any education he gave to us juristic principles which in many respect excel those given by other eminent jurists of the world. Justinian, Augustus and Manu would have acknowledged him without a moment's hesitation, as an eminent jurist and teacher of law, if his maxims had been accessible to them. The fact that a man, who was not a pupil to any teacher on earth, should become an eminent teacher of law, a difficult branch of learning, is an evidence of miracle in him. It is a strong argument in support of his prophethood.

نگار من که به مکتب نه رفت و خط نه نوشت
به یک نگه سبق آموز صد مدرس شد

(My beloved who did not go to any school and did not write,

At one glance he became teacher to hundred teachers).

We Muslims should take pride in his leadership and in accepting him as our Prophet. But mere acceptance is not enough. We shall be true in our loyalty to him and it will also be our service to him, to Allah and to Islam if we practise what he preached and taught. We shall be disloyal to him and to his teaching and commands if our behaviour is antagonistic to what he demanded from us. It is not enough that his name should be on our lips. Our conduct should be in conformity with what he enjoined. May Allah help us in this. *Amen.*

Sham-i-Hamdard, Peshawar.
4 May, 1970.

DR. ABOLGHASEM ZENOUZI
AND
MR. JUSTICE S. M. MURSHED

IT is with a sense of pride and privilege that I welcome you all to Sham-i-Hamdard *this afternoon. The presence and participation of our distinguished Speakers Mr. Justice S. M. Murshed and Dr. Abolghasem Zenouzi lends honour and lustre to this important occasion.*

Dr. Abolghasem Zenouzi is the popular Consul-General of Iran at Dacca since 1967. *He has obtained the degree of Bachelor of Law from Lyons, France, and Doctorate of Law from Geneva. An intellectual himself, he is passionately interested in the literatures and cultures of different countries, and it is this interest and love of Rumi that has prompted him to accept our invitation to speak on an illustrious personality whose mysticism and literature enriches the life and heritage of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey.*

The presiding personality of the evening is Mr. Justice S. M. Murshed, who, I am sure needs no introduction. Once the Chief Justice of East Pakistan, he occupies a great position in the academic halls of Pakistan and in cultural, literary and scientific gatherings of national and international character. The sweep and range of the topics upon which he speaks are remarkable in their variety and depth. He has made considerable impact on the intellectual and political thought of the nation.

About 8 *centuries ago the world of Islam faced a crisis. A crisis of enormous magnitude and frightening dimensions, a crisis brought from without.*

The seventh century of Hijra *was ravaged by the vandalism of the Tartars. Their barbarous attacks razed to the ground the many fine centuries of Islamic learning existing at that time. All that was best and finest in the thought of Islam was threatened with destruction. It indeed was a dark hour.*

The darkness could have prevailed and cast its shadows on us today. Prevailed except for a miracle. The miracle was the existence in those critical times of such bright luminaries of Islamic thought and learning as Shaikh Sa'adi, Muhaqqiq-e-Tusi, Shahab-ud-Din Suhrawardy, Ibn-e-Arabi, Attar, Iraqi, Ibn Baitar, and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. The splendour of these names has reverberated down the ages, and we, and indeed the world, have learnt to look on these great names with pride, awe and respect.

It was the light of these great luminaries that dispelled the darkness of those times and shed its kindly glow on succeeding centuries. A light that averted a crisis, and kept the glory of Islam from being snuffed out.

Our distinguished audience is well aware of the crisis of that dark hour of Islam and of one of those saviours who averted this crisis, whose memory Sham-i-Hamdard *commemorates today—Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi.*

Jalaluddin Rumi was not only a great poet, he was a profound thinker and mystic as well. Learning was a part of his family traditions and it was at Konya where he finally settled down that he gave his greatest contribution to life and thought: The Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz *and the* Mathnawi. *The latter is more famous of the two, and is sometimes called the* Qur'an *in* Pahlevi. *In it he has described various mystical, philosophical and religious problems and has explained Islamic verities and metaphysical problems in the light of Qur'anic teaching and* hadith.

Today in our times, when the barbaric cries of vandal hordes have long faded into the distant past, we of the Islamic world again face a crisis. A crisis this time brought not only from without, but from within. A crisis of ignorance. Of a break with the best of our world. A growing unawareness of what in our tradition is good and worthy to be remembered, cherished, preserved and passed on. Traditions of scholarly learning and great thought.

We have ceased to be inspired by ourselves and look elsewhere for inspiration. We have ceased to be guided by ourselves and look



DR. ABOLGHASEM ZENOUZI
(From left: Mr. Justice S. M. Murshed
and Hakim Mohammed Said)

to others for guidance. Forgetting our own true jewels of history we are dazzled, blinded and fooled by the glitter of tinsel.

And this, I feel, is the real crisis. A crisis greater than that ever faced by the Islamic world.

History and the example of others teach us that no people and no nation can ever take root, survive, grow, flourish and prosper without being firmly rooted first to its own soil.

This is indeed a dark hour. Probably the darkest hour, for in this crisis—ravaged by our own thoughtless vandalism—there are not many outstanding names among our scholars and poets and philosophers who can keep the light of knowledge shining bright enough for future generations. Such times and attitudes as ours, perhaps do not produce great names.

And so in this hour it is of some consolation to us when we, as in this gathering this evening, pause and look back on the glory of the past and perhaps seek solace, inspiration and guidance from that.

Our distinguished speakers of today's Sham-i-Hamdard, *I hope, would lead us towards such a solace and enlightenment.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

MAWLANA JALALODDIN MOHAMMAD RUMI

Dr. Abolghasem Zenouzi

I AM very grateful to the President of the Hamdard National Foundation, Janabe Hakim Mohammed Said, for having invited me to this august gathering as a Guest Speaker. I am told that the Hamdard Foundation is quietly doing some very valuable and constructive work in the medical science, particularly for the renaissance of *Tibb-i-Mashriq*. Even the holding of the monthly *Sham-i-Hamdard* to introduce outstanding personalities in the fields of literature, science and philosophy is a service of no less importance.

I must admit at the very outset that I am not capable of doing justice with a subject of purely literary nature, particularly in front of a Chief Justice who is also an eminent scholar of literature. My attempt in this context would be tantamount to a futile effort to spread light with a candle-stick under the blazing mid-noon sun.

Mawlana Jalaloddin Mohammad Rumi was born at Balkh in Khorasan, Iran, on the 6th *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 604 A.H., corresponding with the 30th September, 1207 of the Gregorian calendar. His father, Mohammad bin Hossain Balkhi, better known as Bahaoddin, a teacher by profession, was a man of considerable learning and was held in high esteem.

While Jalaloddin was yet a child, his father was obliged to migrate from Balkh along with his family. The journey took them to Nishapur, Baghdad, Mecca, Malatiyya, Qaraman (then known as Larinda) and finally to Konya where they settled down. This town, which now forms part of Asia Minor, was at that time the capital of Allaoddin Kaiqobad of the Seljuq dynasty. Mawlana passed

the major part of his life in Konya (or Rum) and it is from this place that he derived his pen-name, RUMI.

Rumi got his primary education as well as instructions in esoteric sciences mainly from his father. He was about 24 years of age when his father, Bahaoddin, died at Konya, and then he visited Aleppo and Damascus in search of more knowledge. About this time, he came under the influence of Sheikh Bahaoddin Termadi, a former pupil of Rumi's own father, who gave him lessons in mysticism.

After the death of this eminent saint, Rumi got acquainted with Shams-od-Din of Tabriz, popularly known as Shams-e-Tabrizi, at Konya in the later part of the year 1244 A.D. A contemporary of Rumi narrates a very interesting story of their first meeting. One day Mawlana was sitting in his house among his students, with a number of books lying around him. Shams-e-Tabrizi came in, wished him and, pointing towards the books, asked, "What is this"? Mawlana said, "You will not understand it". But before he had finished this remark, the books and the library were on fire. Mawlana asked, in horror, "What is this"? It was now Tabrizi's turn to retort, "You will not understand THIS".

This was a turning point in the life of Mawlana Rumi. A renowned saint and himself a poet of great calibre, Shams-e-Tabrizi was a man of a magnetic personality and mysterious ways. Jalaloddin was completely overwhelmed by his spiritual powers, and became his pupil, his disciple, his follower and his devotee for the rest of his life. His association with Shams-e-Tabrizi came to an end only when the latter met with a violent death in the spring of 1246 A.D.

According to Aflaki, who has described Jalaloddin's life at considerable length in his *Manaqeb-ol-Arefin* (مناقب العارفين), it was at this stage that the Order of Mawlavi Dervishes with its typical mystical music, circular movements and mourning garb were introduced by Jalaloddin Rumi, mainly in memory of his great teacher and spiritual guide. Aflaki has also attributed many supernatural powers to the Mawlana, which go to the credit of his master, Shams-e-Tabrizi, whose teachings and association turned him into one of the greatest Sufis of all time.

Th contribution of Iran to the literary treasures of the world is immense and a substantial share of this contribution goes to the immortal works of Mawlana Jalaloddin Rumi.

His soul-stirring Masnavi, about which it has been rightly said:

هست قرآن در زبان پهلوی   مثنوی مولوی معنوی

is considered as one of the best poetical works of the world. It consists of some 27,000 couplets of moral and ethical precepts, spread over six volumes. Its compilation was made at the instance of Rumi's favourite disciple, Hosam-ud-Din, who had acted as his chief assistant from the year 1258 A.D. and who collected this stupendous work from the dictations of his master. In the *Masnavi*, the thought dominates the form: the narration is straight forward, without much of diction and poetical ornamentation.

The great spiritual Masnavi of Rumi has eclipsed the fame of his lyrical poems, which have been compiled in several volumes, under the title of "Diwan-e-Shams-e-Tabriz" and which, by their own right, are placed among the best jewels of the Persian literature. Their worth and value could well be determined by the great Sa'adi's remark about some odes chosen out by him from the "Diwan-e-Shams-e-Tabriz: "Never have more beautiful words been uttered, nor ever will be".

A large part of the poems comprising the *Diwan*, if not all of them, were probably written after the death of Shams-e-Tabriz, whose spiritual influence is remarkably evident in its verses.

Mawlana Jalaloddin Rumi died in the year 1273, soon after completing his Masnavi.

In the realm of poetry, his works stood like a minaret of light and guidance for his contemporaries and successors, as they stand today for the present and the coming generations.

هرگز نمیرد آن که دلش زنده شد بعشق   ثبت است بر جریدهٔ عالم دوام ما

You will now hear a brilliant piece of oratory and an illuminating paper on Mawlana Jalaloddin Rumi from Mr. Justice

Murshed. I am not going to inflict a longer speech upon you. But before I end, I am tempted to read out a superbly beautiful couplet from the Masnavi, in which Mawlana Rumi has described the different stages of his life during his journey in the path of Allah, with masterly precision and brevity:

حاصل عمرم سه سخن بیش نیست   خام بدم، پخته شدم، سوختم

Sham-i-Hamdard, Dacca.
9 July, 1970.

JALALUDDIN MUHAMMAD RUMI

Mr. Justice S. M. Murshed

ALTHOUGH full development of the Sufi mystic system, known amongst Muslims, as *Tasawwuf*, and, in Europe, as Sufism, is a later effulgence of a well-recognised school of thought, its beginning dates back to the inception of the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*, which marks the birth of Islam. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) along with most of the *Sahaba*, and particularly the brethren of *Ahl-e-Suffa*, were the earliest exponents of Sufism or *Tasawwuf*.

This philosophy or idealism came to flower and fruit in about 1000 A.D. in Iran with such poets as Sanai, 'Attar and Jalaluddin Rumi. The famous Sa'adi and Hafiz of Shiraz also belong to the same school. In fact, classic Persian poetry is nothing if not *Tasawwuf* or Sufism.

But, perhaps, the most significant of this idealism or philosophy is the exposition of Jalaluddin Rumi as embodied in his momentous and famous epic, known as, "*Mathnavi-e-Molevi*". *Tasawwuf* is not, as believed sometime ago, an Iranian revolt against the Semetic orthodoxy of its Arab conquerors, but is, in its pristine purity, ingrained in Islam itself. A number of theories about its derivation have been advanced in different times, but, to my mind, such theories are not only erroneous but futile as well, for a golden thread runs through every great philosophic idealism. Truth is the same at all times from eternity without beginning to eternity without end and that the quest of the Infinite has been the *Ultima Thule* of the strivings of the human soul throughout the ages. As known to Muslims, it represents the esoteric doctrine of the Holy Prophet himself. Its degeneration does not belong to Islam and is extraneous to my dissertation.



MR. JUSTICE S. M. MURSHED
(Hakim Mohammed Said is on the left)

Sufism, however, became a good classic mould and took a sound philosophical form by that great theologian, called, Al-Ghazali, in his famous book, known as, "The Proof of Islam". Sufism rests on reason as also on eclectism which are its patent characteristics. It is the antithesis of nihilism, and, as a Qaderi, I believe that its best enunciation can be found in "*Futhuh-ul-Ghaib*" and "*Ghunniat-ul-Talebin*" and other lectures of Hazrat Syedana Ghous-ul-Azam Shaikh Abdul Qader Al-Gaylani of Baghdad, who was of Iranian origin himself. The works of the Shaikh have extracted tributes from even a hostile critic as Professor Margouliath. The Qaderia order does not permit the slightest deviation from the *Shariat*. The essential feature of the idealism may be summed up in the maxim: باهمه و بے همه that is, to perform faithfully one's worldly duties and yet not to be entangled in its vicious contamination. According to the *Sufis*, the world is the sphere of deeds and there is no dichotomy between it and the Hereafter. Although it interdicts renunciation of the world, its strict avoidance of self-indulgence is rightly regarded by von Kremer as of Arabian and Islamic origin.

Sufism was progressively formulated into a philosophic growth till the age of Al-Ghazali and others and was brought into alliance with orthodoxy by them. A significant role, in this behalf, is played by Jalaluddin Rumi, who is the object of the most affectionate and careful study in Iran, Turkey, the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, and, indeed, the rest of the Islamic and non-Islamic world The crux of Sufism is *Tawhid*, which means that God alone exists in reality. This is the *Sufi* interpretation of the *Kalma-e-Taiaba:* "There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet".

Sufism has been discussed by so many writers that I do not propose to devote more space to it here as we have already seen how it understands the doctrine of Divine Unity, It, however, seeks to put into practice that great truth. It is a much misunderstood and much abused philosophy, but this is altogether a separate topic.

Jalaluddin Muhammad, better known as Maulana or Molevi or Jalaluddin Rumi, spent the greater part of his life in "Rum" or Asia Minor. He was born in autumn at Balkh in the year 1207 A.D., but soon the jealousy of Alauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah compelled the father of the Maulana to migrate westwards.

The Maulana passed through Nishapur and visited 'Attar who predicted the future greatness of the former. The exiles passed through Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, Malatiyya to Larinda, now known as Qaraman, where they lived for about seven years. Finally they moved to Konya (Iconium) which was then the capital of Alauddin Kayqubad, the Seljuq, and here Jalaluddin's father, Bahauddin, died in February 1231 A.D.

Jalaluddin married at Larinda, when about twenty one years of age, a lady called, Gawhar (Pearl), who bore him two sons, one of whom died in a riot, which also killed Jalaluddin's spiritual preceptor, Shamsuddin of Tabriz, better known as Shams-e-Tabriz, a great saint, well-known throughout the Islamic world. Mr. E.J.W. Gibb has translated in English some of his works. At a later date Jalaluddin married again, after the death of his first wife, and had a daughter as well as a son by his second wife.

Jalaluddin Rumi's chief work, famous throughout the literary world, is his mystical *Mathnavi*, known as "*Mathnavi-e-Molevi*", and it deserves to rank amongst the greatest poems of all time. He is, without doubt, the most eminent *Sufi* poet that Iran has produced, while among other great names are Sanai, 'Attar, Jami, Sa'adi, Hafiz of Shiraz and a few others.

Jalaluddin, who became the most profound scholar of his time in orthodox Islamic Studies, learnt esoteric sciences mainly from his great preceptor and *pir*, Shams-e-Tabriz, whom Nicholson describes as a "weird figure, wrapped in coarse black felt, who flits across for a moment and disappears mysteriously enough". His tremendous spiritual influence cast a spell over all those who entered the enchanted circle of his power. In many matters of consequence, for example, in his strong passions, his self-inflicted poverty, his idealism, his great dedication and in his violent end, he resembles the famed Greek, Socrates. Both influenced men of genius and gave artistic expression to their thought and ideas; both proclaimed the need of illumination and the value of love. But, the sweet reasonableness and moral grandeur of Shams-e-Tabriz beggars description.

Jalaluddin, whose life was completely metamorphosed by this mysterious personage, came under the spell of the latter at Konya in

December, 1244 A.D., and this devoted acquaintanceship lasted with ever-increasing intimacy till it was brought to an abrupt close in March, 1246 A.D. by the violent end of Shams-e-Tabriz. Henceforward Jalaluddin Rumi's life was completely transformed.

The tall drab-coloured felt cap and wide cloak still worn by members of the Molevi Dervish order as well as their universe-wise gyrations are said to have been introduced by Jalaluddin in memory of his lost preceptor and friend and in remembrance of God. He also specifies various other reasons for the chanting and dancing practised by his disciples.

I shall confine myself to his great Iranian epic, written in most exquisite Persian, namely, the *Mathnavi*. It is uncertain at what date this great work was begun. It comprises of six books and a seventh also is often to be seen in the East. They contain approximately 26,660 couplets or verses. It was certainly begun after the death of Shams-e-Tabriz, whose tragic end changed the tenor of Rumi's life. Many of the lyrical poems of Jalaluddin are contained in the *Diwan* of Shams-e-Tabriz and I do not propose to discuss them here.

The *Mathnavi-e-Molevi* is a superb piece of work and represents Persian poetry of the highest order. It has been rightly called, "The *Qur'an* in *Pahlavi*" (that is, Persian). It is a life bestower to the patient and is fertile like the Nile of Egypt. It is written throughout in classic hexametre, known as, "*Bahr-e-Ramal*", that is, the *Ramal* metre. It contains a large number of anecdotes, mostly sublime and loftily dignified and occasionally humorous and even grotesque, interspersed with the noblest mystical and theosophical digressions. It is remarkable that it does not begin with a formal doxology.

The *Mathnavi* begins with an opening verse or couplet which gives the key to the book. I shall quote the same which runs thus:

بشنو از نے چوں حکایت می کند   از جدائی ها شکایت می کند

It means, "Hearken to the reed which narrates the pangs of separation (from the Beloved)".

The well-known and beautiful passage, containing the aforesaid verse, has been translated, in English, by Professor E.H. Palmer, under the title of, "The Song of the Reed". This work which contains the opening canto of the *Mathnavi*, though rather freely translated, is graceful and is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the poem. Indeed, amongst the Persian poets, Omar-e-Khayyam and Hafiz apart, Jalaluddin Rumi has been singularly fortunate in his English interpreters. Nicholson has translated a substantial portion of his work in such a fine diction that I consider it to be superfluous to add anything of my own.

Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad, called Rumi, takes a distinguished place in the pantheon of the immortals of the world. The famed Sa'adi of Shiraz was asked by a princely ruler to give his views on Rumi and the reply was:

> "Never have more beautiful words been uttered, nor ever will be. Would that I could go to *Rum* and rub my face in the dust at his feet".

Such was Jalaluddin Rumi and such would be the sentiment of everybody who reads him in the original or in translation. He belongs to the elite of mankind and has truly said:

ما دل اندر راه جان انداختیم　　　غلغلے اندر جہان انداختیم

> "I have cast my heart in the highway of the soul and have raised a tumult in the world".

That strain again, if it were possible, but thou hast captured the idolatory of our hearts, O Rumi, and with this humble tribute we salute thee.!

Sham-i-Hamdard, Dacca.
9 July, 1970.

JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD

I HAVE much pleasure in welcoming you all to Sham-i-Hamdard. *In this sombre and tragic month, overshadowed by the remembrance of the grim war for Pakistan's existence in* 1965 *when countless men shed their blood and sacrificed their lives, it is salutary to recall the factors and forces that led to the Pakistan Movement. This recalling of the pristine objectives and values may lead to the renewal of spirit and the determination to keep Pakistan free at all costs, never to sully her honour, never to destroy the vision of a homeland for Muslims in the quicksands of self-aggrandizement, lust for power, deceit and treachery.*

Mr. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad who is our Guest Speaker has chosen to speak on the Factors and Forces behind the Pakistan Movement. He is pre-eminently suited to do this, having been associated with the Quaid-i- Azam and the Muslim League as early as 1937. *He was a Lecturer in English in the Muslim University of Aligarh from* 1936-1947 *and during this crucial time he was a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. After Pakistan was established, he lectured at the Emerson College, Multan, and from* 1950 *to* 1955 *became the Public Relations Officer to the Prime Minister, of Pakistan. Since* 1966 *he is the Editor of "Contemporary Affairs" and has been a regular contributor to newspapers. He is the author of several publications, some of which I may mention here: Speeches and Writings of Quaid-i-Azam, in* 2 *Volumes; Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement; Final Phase of Struggle for Pakistan; Quaid-i-Azam as Seen by his Contemporaries; Struggle for Pakistan* (1937-47) *which is in the Press.*

The Pakistan Movement was one of the momentous events of Asian history. It was neither a quirk of fate, nor one man's caprice that brought it into being. There was a logical process which was set in motion centuries ago with the advent of Muslim rule in India. So many factors conditioned it and made it inevitable— geographical, political, territorial, economic, sociological, psychological and religious,

the last two being particularly dominant. More immediately the Pakistan Movement can be traced back to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the nineteenth century, to Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz in the eighteenth century. We can attribute its emergence to the ancient and incurable religious and cultural schism between the Hindu and the Muslim, to the British policy of divide and rule, to the working of the separate electorates conceded to the Muslims in 1909, *to the theory of "two nations", to the determination of the Muslims in India not to submit to the Hindu majority and instead secure a homeland for themselves where they could work out their destiny according to their own Islamic culture and polity.*

There is nothing new or nothing sudden in the idea of Pakistan. The only thing that has happened is that what was indistinct appears now in full glow and what was nameless has taken on a new name.

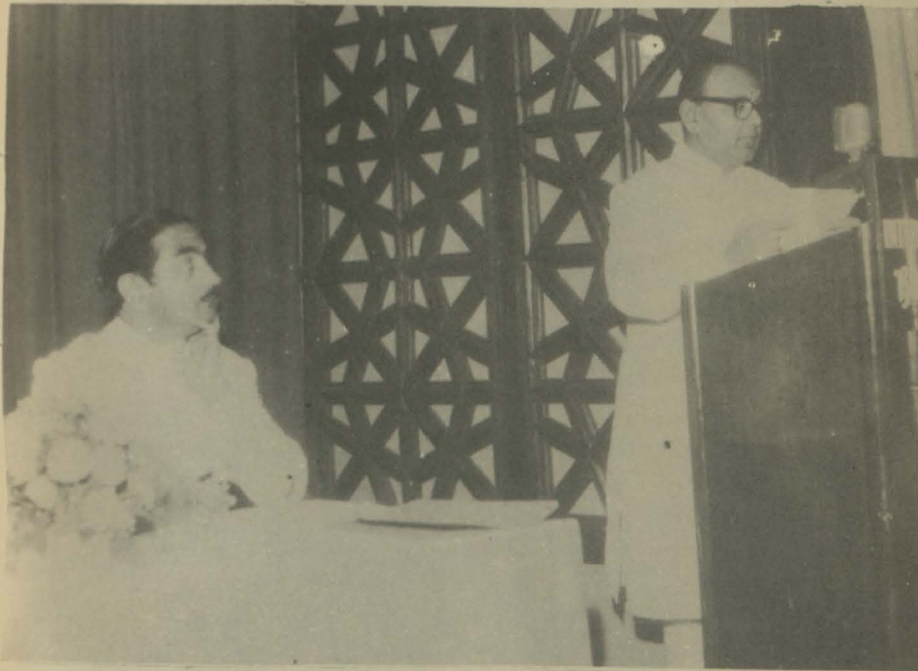
As a new sovereign state, Pakistan emerged on the world's map twenty three years ago and humanity bears testimony to the fact that it was the robust ideology of Islam that brought the new country into being.

The circumstances that beset its path and the forces which brought about that miracle in an unparalleled manner all make it imperative for the country to have a faithfully-written, honest, unbiased history of its own.

The world is to know how great events change the course of history and how a criss-cross of forces forges destinies. Pakistan's establishment as an ideological free state is an event at once epoch-making with far-reaching efforts on the rest of the nations and their various postulates and positions.

A realistic and historiographical record of the back-ground of the great Pakistan Movement is all the more necessary at this stage, because of its informative and inspiring character for the present generation as also for posterity.

If our youth fails to know the chain of distressing facts that aroused the entire Muslim nation as one man in the Sub-continent or remains ignorant of the suffering endured or the strategy the Indian Muslims



JAMILUDDIN AHMED
(Hakim Mohammed Said Presiding)

had to resort to, in order to counter-act the machinations of their powerful enemies, culminating in the eventual partition of India, the young Pakistan nation would possibly remain unaware of both the trials undergone and the triumphs gained through a unique leadership.

And such an ignorance of the basic ideology that carved out for us a free country like Pakistan may prove disastrous for the intellectual future of our rising nation and notions of a matchless entity.

Nay, that may even shake the very foundations of our otherwise well-knit new-found state of Pakistan

Modern free states first get to know the basic concept of their national existence. Without that sort of knowledge no nation can ensure for itself a prestigious place in the comity of other nations, nor can it leave any ideological impact on others or make the latter feel that it also counts!

I refute stoutly and refuse to admit the popular assertion that Pakistan came into existence without shedding a drop of blood.

Only the callous could, perhaps, think that way. I mean those super souls who may have had no idea whatsoever of the untold unprecedented sufferings of the poor countless migrants who left their homes and loved ones only to see and reach this promised free Muslim state and yet who are still being dubbed here disparagingly as Muhajir *in Pakistan or by those helpless Muslims who have been left in India only to suffer humiliations of scape-goats and political ransoms for generations to come.*

Prudence and patriotism in such an ideological state demanded an unflinching loyalty, individual and collective, its integrity and its perpetuity as a laboratory for practising Muslim ideals and ideology.

Unfortunately this does not appear to be the case. Most of those who assumed power here very brazenfacedly ignored the developmental pre-requisites and preferred personal ends and aggrandisements.

I declare that glittering limousines on roads in our cities, or sky-scrapers or revelries dotting our national life do not mean progress.

These social abandon units or centres of iniquities too prosper on the strength of indiscriminate borrowings from abroad.

That even the inflow of foreign aid has not sobered us into saner foresight. We suffer from the mania of squandering, unmindful of the consequences to our national existence. Our main blunder is our indifference to the ideals of education and an escapism from even determining the national targets.

The second inexcusable lapse is our failure to prepare so far any authentic history of our state and of the Pakistan Movement. These tasks were that of Government which should have taken initiative, right from the day following the country's offical establishment.

The result is that the bulk of our masses are left in the lurch, in an intellectual vacuum, with no interest in the significance of integrity of the country itself!

Let us unite in the task and bequeath to future generations the true story of the Pakistan Movement.

Hakim Mohammed Said

FACTORS AND FORCES BEHIND THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad

THIS is for the second time that Hakim Said has honoured me with an invitation to give a talk. To be called upon to speak at *Sham-i-Hamdard* is indeed a great honour, for it has become almost an institution making for intellectual enlightenment and cultural evolution in our country. That Hakim Said has chosen not a VIP but a non-entity like me to address this distinguished gathering speaks for his large-heartedness, his عالی ظرفی. I find around me a number of friends who treat me with consideration and I feel tempted to say in the words of the poet Amir Meenai:

امیر جمع ہیں احباب ، درد دل کہہ لے
پھر التفات دل دوستاں رہے نہ رہے

At the outset I should like to make one thing clear—the subject of my talk concerns a movement which already occupies a place in history and is not to be confused with the present-day party politics. My observations are made in a historical context, for they relate to certain predisposing circumstances and events as also motivations underlying a movement which culminated in the emergence of a new sovereign state twenty-three years ago.

The subject of my talk, as you have already been told, is **"Factors and Forces Behind the Pakistan Movement".**

There is an impression in certain quarters that the emergence of Pakistan as a sovereign state was the outcome of a sudden emotional effervescence and lacks the rationale of historical process. Nothing could be farther from truth. Pakistan came into being as a result of interplay of deep-rooted historical and ideological forces;

it was a historical necessity. It is supposed that the fact of two nations in the Sub-continent, wrongly referred to as two-nation theory, is a phenomenon arising from certain developments in the twentieth century. This again is a fallacy.

Two nations, two civilizations, two cultures have existed ever since the Muslims first stepped on the soil of the Sub-continent. As long ago as 1000 A.C. the renowned savant, al-Beruni, observed that "All their (i.e. Hindus') fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them, against all foreigners. They call them *Malechha* i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage or by any other kind of relationship or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted". The Hindu society has maintained this character and attitude over the centuries. The two societies—Hindu and Muslim—have sometimes touched but never merged, so that even a noted Hindu historian, K. M. Panikkar, is constrained to remark: "The main social result of the introduction of Islam as a religion in India was the division of society on a vertical basis . . . What has come to be known in the phraseology of today as two nations came into being from the beginning". Another well-known Hindu writer, Nirad C. Chaudhri, holds the same view and observes: "The so-called two-nation theory was formulated long before Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League: in truth, it was not a theory at all; it was a fact of history".

An abortive attempt to bring about a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim faiths and societies was made in the time of Emperor Akbar but failed for obvious reasons. No two societies were so fundamentally different, one being based on idolatory and caste system and the other on pure monotheism and fraternity of man. Islam was saved from distortion by the great Mujaddid-e-Alf-e-Sani. He also strove to preserve the religious and cultural identity of the Muslim society. Later Aurangzeb waged a valiant struggle against heavy odds to strengthen the structure of the Muslim state by arresting the process of moral decay and purging Islam in India of un-Islamic accretions without doing any harm to non-Muslims in the administration of the affairs of the State. After his death in 1707 the Mughal Empire fell into disarray due to internecine quarrels, rise of fanatical Hindu elements and machinations of a foreign power.

Realising the danger to Islam in India, Shah Waliullah persuaded the Afghan King, Ahmad Shah Abdali, and the local Muslim chieftains to fight back the Mahrata forces who sustained a crushing defeat in the third Battle of Panipat in 1761. Unfortunately the Mughal rulers, due to their lethargy and short-sightedness, did not take full advantage of the conditions created by Shah Waliullah and the fruits of Muslim victory in the Battle of Panipat were squandered away. Two other battles were fought against the combined Anglo-Hindu forces—one at Plassey by Nawab Sirajuddoula in 1757 and the other at Seringapatam in 1799 by that great ***Mujahid***, Sultan Tipu, but both were lost due to Hindu collaboration with the British and the perfidy of the ministers of these two rulers.

One thing, however, became clear. The Hindus joined hands with the foreign power represented by the East India Company and made efforts to build up their strength and their separate nationalism under British tutelage. Panikkar testifies to the Anglo-Hindu alliance as follows: "An alliance was struck between the head of European *bania*dom, the English Company and the Marwari merchants who commanded the wealth of Bengal". The plundering activities of Hindu *sanyasis* who were in reality dacoits are described in euphemistic terms by a Bengali Hindu literatteur, Bankim Chandra Chatterji. In his novel, ***Anand. nath***, he depicts a supernatural figure explaining to the leader of the *sanyasis* that the British had been forced to rule over India in order that Hinduism might regain power. He says: "Your task is accomplished. The Muslim power is destroyed...We must make the English rule....Under the English our people would be happy....The rebellion took place to make the English ascend the throne. There are no foes now...The English are friends as well as rulers". ***Bande Matram*** which was the battle-cry of the ***sanyasis*** against the Muslims became the national song of the Hindu Congress and Hindu India.

The first glimmerings of Hindu nationalism became visible in Bengal. It began to grow in alliance with the new British power which tried to spread its tentacles over North India at the expense of the Muslims. A number of calculated measures were adopted by the British to close all avenues of a self-respecting existence to the Muslims and reduce them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Under a tyrannical Law of Resumption, lands were

taken away from the Muslims and given to the Hindus; the Muslims' recruitment to the Army and the Civil Services was stopped. Their condition became so miserable that even a British civilian, Sir William Hunter, admits: "The truth is that when the country passed under our rule the Mussalmans were the superior race and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm but in power of political organisation and the science of practical government. Yet the Mussalmans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupations of life".

It is not that the Muslims did not put up a resistance. The consciousness, that Shah Waliullah had aroused, continued to inspire reformers and freedom-fighters like Shah Abdul Aziz, Syed Ahmad Shaheed and the leaders of the Faraizi Movement, Haji Shariatullah and Dudu Mian, who made heroic efforts to save the Muslims from Anglo-Hindu tyranny and oppression. The process of Muslim decline and downfall was completed by the unsuccessful War of Independence of 1857 which was the last desperate struggle waged by the Muslims to throw off the foreign yoke. The Muslims became the victims of the wrath of the British, who, on instigation by the Hindus, wreaked a terrible vengeance on them. Our great poet, Ghalib who witnessed the orgies of brutality against the Muslims in Delhi, cried out in anguish:

Kis roz tuhmatain na tarasha kiye udoo,
Kis din hamaray sar pe na aray chala kiye.

Another poet, Dagh Dehlavi, depicts the helplessness and sufferings of Muslims as follows :

Maqam-e-amn jo dhoonda to rah bhi na mili,
Yeh qahr tha ke khuda ki panah bhi na mili.

Even *purdah*-observing Muslim women of Lucknow were not spared as a poet says :

Woh jana purdah nashinon ka ba sar-e-uryan,
Woh dar-o-gir-e-sipah-e-sharir-o-bey iman.
Daraz dast-e-tazallum sitam shiaron ka,
Falak ko yas se takna jafa ke maron ka.

The Muslims found themselves in the throes of a great calamity. They were a broken, dispirited and demoralised people. It seemed as if the history of Spain would be repeated in the Sub-continent. Fortunately for them a courageous and far-seeing man, Syed Ahmad Khan, arose to rescue the Muslims from torpor, inertia and ruin and gave them a bold but realistic lead. The methods of direct confrontation and conflict had failed. The Hindus, having curried favour with the British, were already in the ascendant in all walks of life—educational, social, commercial, economic and administrative. If the Muslims had persisted in their attitude of sullenness and aloofness from the new scheme of things their position would have been irretrievably damaged. Realising this danger, Syed Ahmad Khan resolved to pull the Muslims out of their state of apathy and frustration and equip them with the new weapons which were needed to hold their own against competing forces in the changed body-politic and to play their part in the social and political advancement of the country.

He, therefore, set out to bring the Muslims to the path of constructive effort and gradual advance. Education and social reforms were the two planks of his programme. He naturally felt that the time was not ripe for the Muslims to indulge in agitational politics, because he knew that as an aggrieved and emotional people they could go off the rails any moment. His lead was followed by the bulk of the Muslim nation, because he advocated, in Maulana Mohammad Ali's words, a "sound policy". The College that he founded, which later grew into a University, became the nucleus of a movement for the social, cultural and political regeneration of the Muslims. Similar efforts for the uplift of the Muslims were made by Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Amir Ali in Bengal and by the founders of 'Anjuman-e-Himayet-e-Islam' in the Punjab.

Syed Ahmad, in the beginning of his career, had worked for general advancement of all communities and stood for harmonious relationship and cooperation between them, but something happened in 1867 which made him revise his stand. Taking note of the Hindu agitation against *Urdu*, he told a British Cfficer, Mr. Shakespeare, that the two nations—Hindu and Muslim—would not join whole-heartedly in anything and, though there was no open hostility between them, it would increase immensely on account of

the so-called educated people. Needless to say, all subsequent events amply justified his prophecy!

With the advent of the British rule, ideas of modern nationalism began to spread. The Hindus had had a start in modern education; they were also recipients of British favour and patronage. Being in numerical majority in the Sub-continent they soon discovered that adoption of the slogan of 'nationalism' would be to their advantage, for they thought it could be used to mask their ambition of domination over others and yet preserve a respectable facade. But in its essence their nationalism was only a euphemism for Hindu nationalism. This is admitted by the well-known Hindu historian, R. C. Majumdar, who says: "The Western type of nationalism gradually partook of a Hindu character. This process was hastened by the fact that past glory and greatness of the Hindus came to form the solid basis of this nationalism".

British patronage of the political ambitions of the Hindu majority became evident when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 by a retired British civilian, Alan Octavian Hume, with the blessings of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. Its sessions used to be attended by British Governors, and it even had some Englishmen as Presidents of its sessions. Leaders of the Congress were favoured for appointment to high posts. The Congress began to make demands which were manifestly inimical to Muslim interests. It demanded representative government based on elections—pure and simple—to the councils of the country and appointments to all posts on the basis entirely of competitive examinations. For three years Syed Ahmad kept quiet but, realising that the Muslim position was in danger, he spoke out strongly against the Congress in 1887, especially when he saw that efforts were made to entice the unwary Muslims into the folds of the Congress to give it a 'national' appearance. He proved by irrefutable arguments that acceptance of the Congress demands would result in Hindu domination and Muslim subjugation. He explained that "the first requisite of a representative government is that the voters should possess the highest degree of homogeneity. In a form of government which depends for its functioning upon majority it is necessary that the people should have no differences in the matters of religion, nationality, ways of living, customs, morals, culture and historical

traditions....In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any of these fields, the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in disturbing the peace and prosperity of the land".

Syed Ahmad Khan's speeches and writings clearly show that he envisaged an independent destiny and a separate political course for the Muslims who consistently followed his lead and kept away from the Congress and its politics. Even though he had advised the Muslims to concentrate on education and social-uplift—a policy which proved beneficial in the circumstances of the 19th century—he was not oblivious of political developments as they affected the Muslims. As Hindu aggressiveness in the political sphere became manifest, Syed Ahmad Khan in 1893 founded the Mohammadan Defence Association to work for the betterment and welfare of the Muslims. The Association presented a memorandum to the Government suggesting separate electorate i.e. Hindu and Muslim members of the Councils be elected by Hindu and Muslim voters respectively. The same stand was taken by the National Mohammadan Association founded by Syed Amir Ali in Calcutta.

As time passed the concept of independent destiny and political curse which Syed Ahmad Khan had advocated for the Muslims found pronounced expression in an articulate consciousness of their social and cultural identity and political entity. It led to the demand for separate electorate voiced by the Muslim leaders' deputation to the Viceroy in October 1906 when the introduction of elective bodies was in the offing. The deputation asserted: "It cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented". This was followed immediately by the foundation of the Muslims' political organisation, the All-India Muslim League, through the efforts of Nawab Salimullah, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk. The Muslims succeeded in securing separate electorate which throughout remained their political sheet-anchor. At this stage, however, the Muslims, while anxious to maintain their identity and secure their rights and interests, were ready and willing to reach an honourable understanding and cooperate with other elements in the body-politic

with a view to achieving emancipation from foreign rule and ensuring harmonious progress. This readiness on their part continued for the next thirty-five years.

These ideas were lucidly expressed by the Muslim leaders particularly Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The former in his paper 'the Comrade' remarked: "We may not create today the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its 40 millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marriage born of romance and poetry. But a marriage de convenance, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised". The Muslim position was eloquently defended by Mr. M.A. Jinnah in 1916. He said: "A minority must, above everything else, have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for cooperation and united endeavour in the national tasks. To the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community". Mr. Jinnah was also successful in bringing about a Congress-League agreement, popularly known as the Lucknow Pact, based on recognition of the Muslims' right of separate electorate. To have persuaded the Hindu leaders to agree to separate electorate and by implication to recognise the social, cultural and political identity of the Muslims was, indeed, a remarkable achievement. But the spirit of the Lucknow Pact did not last long. It was smothered by the rise of Gandhian leadership in the Congress a few years later.

The experience of the working of elected legislatures and a limited measure of responsible government in the provinces granted in 1919 was leading the Muslim leaders and thinkers to realise more clearly that the democratic parliamentary system of government, if not qualified by certain adjustments, would spell their doom. They began to think of devices which would at least enable them to consolidate their position in parts of the country where they were in majority and secure safeguards in the minority provinces. It was always the Muslim leaders who took the initiative in making proposals for a Hindu-Muslim settlement. Between 1924 and 1935 several attempts were made by Muslim leaders to reach a settlement on the basis of modest proposals such as separation of Sind from

Bombay, reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan, reservation of seats on population basis in the Punjab and Bengal, one-third seats for Muslims in the central legislature, a federal form of government with residuary powers vested in the provinces. Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points were a link in the same chain. These efforts were made during the All-Parties Convention at Calcutta in 1922, the Round Table Conference in London in 1930-31, Jinnah-Prasad talks 1935, Congress-League negotiations in 1937-38. Even conservative leaders, like the Aga Khan and Sir Mohammad Shafi, were willing to reach a settlement on these lines with joint electorate. But all efforts were defeated by the obduracy of the Hindu leaders, including even Mr. Gandhi, who rejected the Muslim demands on one pretext or the other. This is borne out by distinguished Hindu leaders like Sir Chimanlal Setalved and Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas.

The Muslims experienced a greater shock and disappointment with the introduction of the provincial part of the Government of India Act 1935. The requirement regarding minority representation in the cabinets were circumvented by including one or two Muslim stooges in the cabinets, and the Governors betrayed their special responsibility to protect minority interests. The Muslim League offer to form coalition ministries was spurned and for all practical purposes Hindu Governments were set up in the majority of provinces. In Congress-governed provinces, the Muslims were not only subjected to physical attacks and atrocities but also injustice and discriminatory treatment as regards religious and civil liberties, economic measures, employment and educational opportunity and cultural suppression. The over-bearing attitude of Congressmen is described by the British historian, Sir Reginald Coupland: "It was not only the Working Committee's control of the Congress Ministries that showed that a 'Congress Raj' had been established. It was betrayed by the conduct and bearing of Congressmen. Many of them behaved as if they were a ruling caste, as if they owned the country".

Mr. Ian Stephens, former editor of the newspaper 'Statesman', speaking from personal observation of the working of Congress Ministries, testifies: "Provincial Ministers in the U.P. and elsewhere conducted their daily business in an atmosphere of Ram Raj repugnant to non-Hindus. And all sorts of petty pressures and

harassments aimed against Muslims began to be alleged. School children were instructed to worship Mr. Gandhi's portrait with folded hands in the Hindu manner, and to sing ***Bande Matram***—a nationalist ditty—taken from Bankim Chatterji's obnoxious novel. Beef-eating was actively discouraged, also the ***Urdu*** language and script; the best appointments always went to Hindus; the police sided with Hindus during riots". Regarding the total effect of Congress high-handedness, Mr. Stephens remarks: "The effect of this simultaneously on many Muslim minds was that of a lightning flash. What had before been put guessed at now leapt forth in horridly clear outline. The Congress, a Hindu-dominated body, was bent on the eventual absorption, Western-style majority rule, in an undivided Sub-continent, could only mean the smaller community being swallowed by the larger".

As for the monopolistic attitude of the Hindu majority, I may cite the evidence of two independent observers. Penderel Moon in his book 'Divide and Quit' says: "The Hindus might say the Muslims were their brothers but would in fact treat them as less than step-brothers....An excellent illustration of what treatment Muslims might expect from the Hindus....was afforded in the Punjab. In that province most of the commercial, industrial and banking establishments were controlled by Hindus. In none of them was any Muslim employed except in a menial capacity as a coolie or a watchman....Hindu professions were widely different from Hindu practice, as Muslims well knew".

Another distinguished observer, Mr. R. G. Casey, who was Governor of Bengal during the second World War, depicts the following picture of the Hindu attitude towards the Muslims in his book, 'An Australian in India': "The caste Hindus have dealt with the Muslims with the minimum of warmth and generosity or even fairness. When and where the Hindus have been in the saddle the Muslims have had the rough end of the stick. The caste Hindus have given the Muslims little evidence that they believe in a fair deal and they deny them a fair deal....it has to be realised that for the last fifty years at least the caste Hindus have been the haves of India and the Muslims have been the have-nots....The Muslims find the Hindus today firmly ensconced in practically all the business activities of India, and Hindu-Muslim feeling is so keen that the

Hindu owners and managers of enterprises are careful to employ only Hindus so that the opportunities for employment of Muslims are limited. To a very large extent throughout India the mills, factories, workshops and merchant houses are Hindu-owned and controlled. And it is not too much to say as regards employment in the great majority of Hindu-controlled business, that no Muslim need apply. It is easy to understand the resentment that this creates and to appreciate the determination of the Muslims to get a place in the sun".

An idea of the economic plight of the Muslims can be formed from certain facts relating to the economic situation as it prevailed before partition. I will give only two examples. There were in India 111 jute mills comprising 69,000 looms of which only one mill of 500 looms and one of 150 looms were owned by the Muslims. There was not a single jute mill in the region which now constitutes East Pakistan. In the region now known as West Pakistan, there were only two textile mills, both owned by Hindus. The rest of the textile mills, about 400 in number, were located in India, all owned by non-Muslims. As for the tea industry, except for three or four Muslim-owned tea gardens the entire industry producing 561,740,000 lbs. was owned and directed by Britishers and Hindus. In other industries like mining, engineering, and cement, the Muslim position was even more pathetic. The Muslims had no air line. There was only one Muslim bank and only three small Muslim Insurance companies. In other commercial fields like financing, broking, internal buying and selling, the Muslims had a small share. In pre-independence India the notion had been sedulously spread that the Muslims were incapable of handling banking and insurance. It was a vicious circle. On the one hand, they were denied opportunities to participate in these careers and, on the other, they were branded as unfit, so that the Hindu monopoly continued.

It must be remembered, however, that the economic handicaps and difficulties under which the Muslims laboured were the result of a deeper cause, namely the Hindu majority's hostility and ambition to dominate the Muslims in all walks of life.

This was the background of the social, political and economic conditions which was forcing the Muslims to depart from the con-

ventional lines of political thinking, that is seeking constitutional safeguards as a numerical minority. They realised that the people could protect their rights and interests and achieve progress and development only if they had a real share in power. What the Hindu majority offered the Muslims, was not equal partnership but absorption and merger which meant complete vassalisation. The comments of a noted historian, Sir Reginald Coupland, are significant. He says: "The doubts so persistently expressed by British statesmen in the past as to the possibility of successfully transplanting the British system of parliamentary government in India has been justified; the chief reason why the domestic political situation in India had deteriorated by 1940 to a point which would have seemed almost inconceivable a few years earlier was the manifest purpose of the Congress to take over the heritage of the British Raj".

Muslim thinking crossed the rubicon and veered round the view that Muslim India's salvation lay in a drastic departure from the beaten track and establishment of a separate sovereign state comprising areas of Muslim majority. The idea of such a state had been mooted by several thinkers in the past such as Jamaluddin Afghani, Khairi Brothers, Abdul Qadir Bilgrami, Sardar Gul Khan and Chaudhri Rahmat Ali. In 1930 Allama Iqbal put it forward as a political proposition in his address to the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930.

It was left to the sagacity, political acumen, courage and determination of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to concretise the deeply felt freedom urge of the Muslims into the form of a clear-cut, feasible, political and constitutional plan which came to be known as Pakistan. In the course of his presidential address at the Lahore session of the All India Muslim League in 1940 he observed: "It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religious in the strict sense of the word but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality.... to yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final des-

truction of any fabric that may be built up for the Government of such a state.....the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous rational states'....Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people".

Explaining the ideology of the Muslim League at its Madras session in April 1941, Quaid-i-Azam asserted: "The ideology of the Muslim League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality....We are determined, and let there be no mistake about it, to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent state in the Sub-continent".

The Pakistan proposal embodied the cumulative result of the experiences and hard and serious thinking of successive generations of Muslims since the break-up of the Muslim power towards the middle of the 19th century. There was throughout an essential consistency in the Muslim outlook and attitude, namely an impelling concern to preserve their individuality as a national unit and to have opportunities for progress and development.

It is a measure of the unflinching determination and spirit of sacrifices of the Muslim nation and the inspired and sagacious leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam that what was a mere resolution in 1940 became a living reality in a matter of seven years, despite the relentless opposition of two mighty, inimical forces.

It is obvious that the Muslims in pre-independence India would and have responded to the call of the Muslim League for a separate independent state if it were to be no different from other secular, territorial states. In seeking a separate state they were moved by an urge not only to save themselves from alien domination but also secure opportunities for building up their social, cultural, economic and spiritual life in accordance with Islamic ideals and principles. This is clear from Quaid-i-Azam's message to the NWFP Muslim Students Federation in June 1945 wherein he said:

"Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us". In another speech at Peshawar he spoke of the motivating force behind the Pakistan movement as follows: "Our religion, our culture, and our Islamic ideals are our driving force to achieve independence". No other motive stirred the Muslims and no other motive could have evoked in them the enthusiasm and willingness to make the efforts and sacrifices which they eventually did.

Visualising the future polity of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam had declared as early as 1945 that "Pakistan would be a democracy... This would be a Muslim state....The Mussalmans are a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity".

In the course of Jinnah-Gandhi talks in 1944, Quaid-i-Azam explained the basis on which Pakistan was being claimed as follows:

> "Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of a settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severence or secession from any existing union. The right of self-determination, which we claim, postulates that we are a nation and as such it would be the self-determination of Muslims, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right".

And he defined the Muslims' position as a nation in these words:

> "We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life".

The important point to remember is that throughout the struggle for Pakistan the Muslims of the Sub-continent thought, moved and acted as a single entity inspired by a common idealism and not as a loose conglomeration of provincial units. This would be obvi-

ous if we were to refer to some of the landmarks in the Muslim freedom movement. To cite only a few instances, when leaders of the Faraizi movement in Bengal, Haji Shariatullah and Dudu Mian resisted the tyranny of Hindu zamindars and British indigo planters in Bengal, when Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed fought against the Sikhs in the North-West Frontier, when Syed Ahmad Khan worked tirelessly to save the Muslim nation from utter ruination and bring about their educational, social and cultural renaissance as a national entity, when Nawab Khwaja Salimullah manfully strived to preserve the first partition of Bengal which had restored to the Muslims their majority rights, when the Muslim leaders headed by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk won recognition of the principle of separate Muslim electorate, when unarmed Muslims laid down their lives to defend the sanctity of the Machhli Bazar mosque in Cawnpore and Shaheedgunj mosque in Lahore, when thousands of Muslims filled jails to save Turkey from utter spoilation, when finally the Muslims braved the fiercest opposition, threats and hardships and marched triumphantly, under the matchless leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, to the goal of Pakistan, the essential unity of the Muslim nation was demonstrated.

The motives underlying the freedom struggle and common memories of it constitute the strongest bond uniting the people of different regions of Pakistan and furnish the basis of national unity. Quaid-i-Azam looked upon Pakistan as "the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation", and he emphasised that "that unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve". He warned that "if we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc. first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate". This may sound inconsistent with the parochial cries which fill the air today but as the poet has said:

مانو نہ مانو جان جہاں اختیار ہے
ہم نیک و بد حضور کو سمجھائے جاتے ہیں

In an address to military officers in February 1948, he explained Pakistan's objectives as follows: "Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood on your own native soil".

The Quaid-i-Azam left no room for doubt as to the idealism which had prompted the Muslims to struggle for Pakistan. In the course of a speech at Chittagong in March 1948 he said: "Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. And we fought for Pakistan cause of the danger of denial of these basic human rights in the Sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system....The sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities for our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and of evolving an ideal social structure in our State".

Thus it was no mere desire for economic security which led the Muslims to strive for the creation of Pakistan; they had a higher objective in view, the achievement of which brings benefits including economic security. They aimed at the realisation of moral and spiritual ideals and values which were threatened in an alien society. Quaid-i-Azam further explained the aim of the Pakistan Movement as follows: "The idea was that we should have a state in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play". There was no narrowness about his concept of Islamic social justice. He used the word 'Islamic', because it imparts to the concept a preciseness and definiteness which it would otherwise have lacked. He explained that Islamic social justice postulates brotherhood, equality of manhood and equal opportunities for all. He visualised an egalitarian economy buttressed by the leaven of Islamic moral principles and spiritual values.

Before I sum up the factors which constituted the motivation behind the Pakistan Movement, I may be permitted, briefly, to mention some of the human forces which carried this Movement to a successful conclusion. I do not want to make any invidious distinctions. The struggle for Pakistan in its final stages evoked wholehearted response and support from the Muslim nation as a whole.

The Quaid-i-Azam succeeded in arousing real political consciousness of a high order among his people, unifying and rallying them on one platform, giving an inspiring and practicable ideal, winning their unqualified support and devotion and leading them with courage, determination and assured steps to their goal. I would like, however, to make particular mention of three elements who played a decisive role in clinching the issue of partition and forcing a positive decision in favour of Pakistan. These elements were, first the poor, ordinary, selfless workers of the Muslim League who never sought or came into limelight, second the Muslim student community and, last but not least, the Muslim womanhood.

I can tell you from personal knowledge that the Quaid-i-Azam, in carrying on the great struggle, placed his trust and reliance, primarily and essentially, on these three elements. The ordinary Muslim League worker, like the unknown soldier, fought with his back to the wall, with implicit faith in the national cause and the national leader but without any thought of any kind of reward. In the general elections of 1945-46 which were a kind of referendum on the issue of Pakistan there were instances of Muslim League workers and unsophisticated Muslim voters telling their families, while going to the polling booths, that they might or might not return alive, but they would cast votes for the Muslim League, whatever the cost might be. As for the role of the students, there is only one word for it—it was glorious. The Muslim students of different colleges and universities, particularly Aligarh, Lahore, Peshawar, Calcutta and Dacca, literally took their coats off, rolled up their sleeves, worked with missionary zeal, facing all manner of hazards, and did not rest till they had brought the election campaign to a successful issue. Our hearts, however, are filled with the greatest pride when we recall the magnificent part played by our sisters in the last stages of the struggle. Disregarding all restraints and conventions, even *purdah*-observing women came out by thousands to defy the high-handedness and tyranny of the Provincial Governments which sought to crush the Muslim League Movement. The women forced the doubting and hesitant menfolk to vote for the Muslim League and faced lathi-charge, tear-gas and firing even in the traditionally conservative areas of the Punjab and N.W.F.P. to vindicate Muslim rights and honour. The success of the civil disobedience movements in these provinces was largely due to the sacrifices, of our women-

folk. The Quaid-i-Azam, in his famous broadcast talk on 3rd June 1947, paid a well-deserved tribute to the Muslim women in these words:

> "I cannot but express appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the frontier played in the fight for civil liberties".

And now to sum up the main factors which motivated the Pakistan Movement, these were:

(i) Muslim nationalism;

(ii) the desire to build life—individual and collective—according to Islamic principles;

(iii) Islamic democracy; and

(iv) Islamic social justice.

These are the concepts which brought Pakistan into being and continue to sustain and support its edifice. If, God forbid, parochial ideas and divisive tendencies, which run counter to Pakistan's basic idealism, gain currency, the very existence of Pakistan would be in jeopardy. A country, which came into being in response to an urge to realise and implement certain ideals and values, can continue to exist and develop only if that urge is kept alive and is not lost in a welter of alien ideas and forces. This country must have a sense of purpose and mission to sustain its life and growth, and that is only possible if the people constantly keep in view the motivating factors which propelled the Pakistan Movement. And that brings me to the point, stressed by Allama Iqbal, that Islam, as 'a people-building force', has worked at its best in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. This force, through a long-historical process, created in the Muslims the consciousness of a separate national identity and a separate historical destiny. The logical culmination of the process was the emergence of Pakistan as a separate state alongside the independent state of Hindustan.

There is an intimate connection between the historical memories of a people and their national identity. The point is very well brought out by the great French philosopher, Renan. He says:

> "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which are really one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the present consent, the desire to live together, the will to realise the unimpaired heritage".

The Muslims of the Sub-continent completely conformed to this definition of a nation. The two elements of which Renan speaks, namely, a heritage of common memories and the desire to live together and realise the unimpaired heritage, led the Muslims to carry on the movement for the establishment of Pakistan.

The connection between the historical memories of a nation and its present life is thus perfectly obvious. As Allama Iqbal has observed: "No people can afford to reject their past entirely, for it is their past that has made their present identity". A people that becomes oblivious of the moorings of its past, particularly the factors and ideals of its freedom struggle, is like a ship rudderless and trackless, tossing on stormy seas, hurled from one trough of misery and calamity to another. Such a people faces the danger of disintegration and ruination. The rising generation in Pakistan deserves to be told the story of their national resurgence. Growth of patriotism and national integration cannot be brought about unless the younger generation is familiarised with the facts of the epoch-making struggle which brought them the blessings of independent nationhood. If they do not assimilate these facts in their national consciousness they cannot develop that feeling of self-confidence and national pride which is so essential for their own growth as free citizens and the progress and prosperity of their country.

As the nation will be observing, only a week hence, the Defence Day, it would not be out of place, if I say a word or two about it. It was on this day, five years ago, that the nation was suddenly confronted with a challenge to its very existence. There are moments in the life of a people when they have to shed their blood and make sacrifices, for that is the price they have to pay to earn and reinforce the right to live their life with peace and honour. True to her tra-

dition of disregarding international morality and norms of international behaviour, India launched a treacherous and aggressive attack on Pakistan, thinking that in one sharp thrust it could, by sheer force of numbers and arms, bring Pakistan down to its knees. The Indian war-lords were, however, in for a surprise. The numerically smaller but brave Pakistan Army fought back with a valour and tenacity which astonished the world and confounded all the calculations of the military strategists. This was because the spiritual factor and the strength that comes from moral conviction did not enter into their calculations.

During this conflict the nation discovered itself. It instinctively realised that it was not a mere fight for a piece of territory; it was a struggle for survival, for the preservation of the ideals and values which the people of Pakistan hold dearer than life. It was a conflict between two attitudes and ideologies. On the one hand, there was brute force, abundance of material resources, pride in numerical strength, expansionist design and aggressive intent to enslave another people. On the other, there was faith in God, in the righteousness of the cause and in spiritual values and also indomitable courage and invincible resolve to fight and, if need be, die in a righteous cause. The nation rose as one man and faced that threat to its honour and integrity with calm and determination. Its faith in the justice of its cause gave it the strength to thwart the aggression of a larger and better equipped force. The unity of the people transcended all provincial, linguistic, ethnic and social differences. It is an asset which should be an operative factor in our national life not only in times of danger but also normal times.

The nation has to remain in a state of constant vigilance and preparedness, for that is the price one has to pay for one's cherished freedom. We have to eschew pomp and ostentation from our lives. Simplicity, austerity, readiness to make sacrifices and an all-pervading moral consciousness—attributes which distinguished the Muslims of the early era—must also characterise our national life, if we are to live with honour and in security.

I may conclude by recalling Allama Iqbal's observations regarding Islamic idealism in relation to state-structure: "The faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man.

Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded not on equality of stomachs but on equality of spirits; where an untouchable can marry the daughter of a king; where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producers of wealth".

Should this superb, yet practicable, idealism be lost sight of, Pakistan would be faced with the danger of losing the very basis, the very *raison d'etre* of its existence. To doubt or deny the possibility of evolution of an Islamic order is to belie the whole history of the Pakistan Movement and to cast a slur on the nation which made untold sacrifice to create Pakistan with no other object in view than the building up of a social order based on the Islamic principles of liberty, fraternity, equality, justice, tolerance, peace and orderly progress.

The substantive part of my talk is over. But before I sit down I should like to strike a personal note, for it is not possible for a man of my antecedents to remain unmoved on an occasion like this. I belong to the dwindling band of humble unpretentious workers who had the good fortune and honour of working directly under the Quaid-i-Azam and participating in the Movement of which Pakistan is the visible outcome. Sooner rather than later we will have quitted the scene, but I for one consider it my duty to pass on the present and the future generations whatever little knowledge I possess of the factors and forces, the ideals and values which prompted the Pakistan Movement. It was from Quaid-i-Azam that we learnt the lesson of rendering service without expectation of any material reward, because that is the way nations are built. We ask for no recognition, we seek no compensation. Our only wish is to see Pakistan united, strong, progressive and prosperous, radiating the blessings of freedom to all its citizens. The surrounding atmosphere at the moment may not be very encouraging but our faith in the destiny of our country is undiminished.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
1 September, 1970.

the small minority not only amassed [illegible] wealth [illegible] of historical [illegible] proposed by [illegible] defended the [illegible] the kind of [illegible] the position [illegible] wherein human beings [illegible] neglected [illegible] aspects of [illegible] approach [illegible] and where capital [illegible] the real producers of wealth.

Amidst this tragedy, yet paradoxically, [illegible] be lost sight of, Pakistan would be faced with the danger of losing the very basis, the very raison d'etre of its existence. To doubt or deny the possibility of evolution of an Islamic order is to belie the whole history of the Pakistan Movement and to cast a slur on the patriots who made untold sacrifices to create Pakistan with no other object in view than the building up of a social order based on the Islamic principles of liberty, fraternity, equality, justice, tolerance, peace and [illegible] of all sections of the society.

The substantive part of my talk is over, but before I sit down I should like to strike a personal note, for it is not possible for a man of my antecedents to remain unmoved on an occasion like this. I belong to the dwindling band of humble unpretentious workers who had the good fortune and honour of working directly under Quaid-i-Azam and participating in the Movement of which Pakistan is the visible outcome. Sooner rather than later we will have quit the scene, but I for one consider it my duty to pass on the present and the future generations whatever little knowledge I possess of the factors and forces, the ideals and values which prompted the Pakistan Movement. It was from Quaid-i-Azam that we learnt the lesson of rendering service without expectation of any kind of reward, because that is the way nations are built. We seek no recognition, we seek no compensation. Our only wish is to see Pakistan united, strong, prosperous and progressive, furnishing a bulwark of freedom to all its citizens. The surroundings around us at the moment may not be very encouraging but our faith in the destiny of our country is undiminished.

[illegible] Hamdard, Karachi.
September, 1976.

MR. JUSTICE SHEIKH ABDUL HAMID

ON behalf of Hamdard National Foundation, I give you a warm welcome and pledge once more to render medico-scientific, educational and cultural service to the nation. May year 1971 *bring to everyone of us happiness through endeavour and God's blessing.*

The year 1971 *is of special significance to the Pakistan nation because it holds out the promise of framing and implementing a constitution for the country.*

In February 1948, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a recorded broadcast, stated :*

> *"The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in our life as they were* 1300 *years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan".*

The Quaid-i-Azam died in September 1948 *and between that time and now the ship of state has been drifting without the rudder of a constitution. However, the process of restoration of power to the people was guaranteed by the present ruling regime and steps have been taken to effect the promise. As a nation we have participated for the first time in a free and fair election on the basis of adult suffrage. We have elected our representatives whose primary task is to frame a constitution whose guidelines have been announced by the President.*

The constitution will have to accommodate a number of conflicting interests and regional claims. The East-West relationship has to be established on a new footing. Another sensitive national question is the division of economic powers between the Centre and the states. The time factor is also very important here. The Constituent Assembly will have a limited life of only 120 *days. If the members are not able to produce, by mutual consultation, discussion and deliberation, a document based on the ideology of Pakistan that will give democracy the much needed and long over-due start, then the Assembly will stand dissolved and the country will again be faced with an indefinite period of political uncertainty. It needs no emphasis that we must do everything to avoid such an eventuality. We will have to rise above petty local prejudices, regional considerations and party loyalties if national interests so demand. We will need men of courage, vision, wisdom and goodwill to see the perils and overcome them.*

Our Guest Speaker today, Mr. Justice Sheikh Abdul Hamid needs no introduction. He, being a constitutionalist, possesses a mind trained in legal principles and his responsible and onerous positions, in the legal framework of the country, have given him vast experience and a broad, flexible and patriotic approach to the subject he has chosen to speak on today—Future Constitution of Pakistan.

In the end, before I relinquish the platform to our distinguished Guest Speaker, I appeal to our constitution-makers not to be caught by seductive slogans and not to foul the political atmosphere, but rather to work with sincerity for the biggest cause—the cause of Pakistan.

Hakim Mohammed Said

FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

Mr. Justice Sheikh Abdul Hamid

SOON after assuming office as Chief Martial Law Administrator, the President, Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan, promised to restore democracy to the country by holding elections to the National Assembly on the basis of adult franchise and a most important part of that promise has now been fulfilled. Elections have been held and people's representatives to the National Assembly have been elected. Now the task before those representatives is the framing of the Constitution. A limit of 120 days has been set for the completion of this task. In view of this limitation it is necessary that the task should be rendered as early as possible.

I, as one who had been dabbling in drafting Constitution, here and abroad and had some experience in this field, felt myself under obligation to render such assistance to those on whose shoulders the burden of Constitution-making will lie as I am capable of and have for this reason prepared the complete draft of the constitution in legal phraseology and form so that they may select as many provisions from it as may appear acceptable to them.

But in preparing this draft I have also kept in view the needs of the country as a whole and have offered solutions for the issues which have been in controversy in the country since long like

(a) "complete provincial autonomy compatible with strong centre", which involves allocation of subjects to the centre and province;

(b) the form of Federal Legislature, whether it should be unicameral or bicameral;

(c) vesting of taxation power in the Federal Government and;

(d) removal of control from the Federal Government over the provinces.

Another important matter in controversy is the preservation of the ideology of the state, that is its Islamic character. I have drawn attention to these matters in the Preamble of the Draft which runs as follows :

"The Draft has been prepared as proposals in legal form and language for new Constitution for the consideration of the members of the forthcoming National Assembly to facilitate their task of framing new Constitution by adopting as many of them as may win their acceptance so that the new Constitution may be framed in as short a time as possible, and in any case within the peiiod of 120 days fixed by the President in the Legal Framework Charter. This will also provide material for thinking by the intelligentsia of the country".

In any Constitution which this country will anyday have to produce there will have to be large number of provisions which are necessary for all constitutions and over which there can be no disagreement, as no constitution can be complete without them. Those have been inserted in this Draft so that the time of the Assembly may not be wasted over what is necessary and usual.

The rest of the Draft consists of two parts. One contains answers proposed to matters which are controversial, and the other contains some new proposals. There is controversy about:

(a) Unicameral or Bicameral Federal Legislature, and powers of each House,

(b) Provincial autonomy compatible with strong Centre,

(c) How the Rule of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* can be enforced to make the State, Islamic in character.

(i) As the system of Government will be Parliamentary Democracy of a Federal type, the Draft provides for the supremacy of

the Parliament. A person, commanding majority in the two Houses of Parliament, will be called upon to form the Government and assume reins of Government as the Prime Minister of the country. The President will be only a titular head who will act, like the King of England, on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The President will be elected by the members of the two Houses of Parliament, the House of the Representative and the Senate, and members of the five Provincial Legislatures by absolute majority, *i.e.* by 51 per cent votes.

(ii) The Federal Legislature will consist of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate, which will consist of 50 members, each Province will have equal representation, that is ten members from each province, who will be elected by the members of Provincial Legislatures. The House of Representatives will consist of 300 members besides women who will be elected on the basis of adult franchise and will be in the ratio of population of the provinces.

As regard the powers of the two Houses, all Bills and Budget Estimates will have to be passed by both the Houses. In the event of any disagreement between them, the matter will be decided at a "Joint Sitting" of the two Houses by votes of the majority of the members voting. But such majority will have to contain at least thirty per cent members from each Wing. This check has been proposed to prevent absolute domination of one Wing over the other.

The President is removable from office by impeachment if a resolution for this purpose is supported by 2/3rd majority at the Joint Sitting.

(iii) As regards allocation of subjects, only those have been allotted to the centre which are extremely necessary for maintaining the solidarity of the country, and which avoid occasions for conflicts and estrangements between the Centre and the Provinces. In federal system, balance of strength either tilts in favour of the Centre or the Province by the allocation of residue. If the residue is allocated to the Centre, Centre becomes strong as against the

Provinces, and if it is assigned to the Provinces it lends strength to them. In this Draft only subjects absolutely necessary for keeping the Centre to function, as strong Centre should function, have been assigned to it and the residue has been transferred to the Provinces. List of Federal subjects is enclosed. Centre has also been granted power of taxation lest it should be a beggar at the doors of the Provinces.

(iv) Another aspect of complete Provincial autonomy is to reduce the control of Central Government over the Provinces to the minimum, necessary. This has been done in the draft:

(a) by taking the power of appointing Governors of the Provinces from the hands of the President. Provincial Governors will be elected by the Provincial legislative Assemblies,

(b) by taking the appointment of High Court Judges out of President's hands. A separate machinery for the appointment of High Court and Supreme Court Judges and Chief Justices has been devised, which make them independent of the Legislature and the Executive.

Independence of the Judiciary has been ensured by the adoption of the following procedures :

A vacancy in the Provincial High Court is to be filled by appointing a person of the requisite legal qualifications as Judge on the recommendation of two-third Judges of that court. Recommendation is binding and cannot be rejected. Chief Justice of the High Court will always be the senior-most Judge of the Court.

A vacancy in the Supreme Court is to be filled by the Chief Justice of East Bengal if the vacancy relates to that Province; and if vacancy relates to West Wing the senior-most Chief Justice from amongst the Chief Justices of the Provinces of Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier succeeds to it. Senior-most judge of the Supreme Court becomes Chief Justice of that Court. A Judge of the Supreme Court

can be removed by the majority of the members of Parliament and of the Provincial High Court by a committee consisting of the Chief Justice and four other Judges of the Supreme Court.

(c) by taking Provincial elections also out of the hands of the Centre. There will be two separate Election Commissions, Central and Provincial. Chief Federal Election Commissioner will be elected by the two Houses of Parliament, and the Chief Provincial Election Commissioner by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies. The former will be removable by impeachment like Judges of Supreme Court and the latter in the manner in which High Court Judges will be removable.

(d) There will be two separate Public Service Commissions; Federal for Federal services only and Provincial for Provincial services only. Federal Commissioners will be elected by the two Houses of Parliament and Provincial Election Commissioner by the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies.

Members of the Federal services will be posted in the Federal departments only and will not be transferable for service in the Provinces. This is also a very important aspect of Provincial autonomy.

The advice tendered by the Commissions has been made binding upon their respective Governments. This reduces the chances of favouritism as well.

(e) Emergency provisions under which Central Government could place a Province under the control of the Central Government by declaring Emergency have been deleted. Provinces will not be under such control of the Centre.

(f) Provincial legislatures are absolutely autonomous under this scheme and Bill can no longer be reserved for the President's assent. A Bill passed by the Legislature by a two-third majority becomes law without assent.

Another controversial matter is Islamic character of the State and to achieve this end two proposals have been made, either of which can be adopted.

Islamic Provisions

It is essential for an Islamic State that its laws, and orders and practices of Government should not be in conflict with the injunctions given in *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*; and challenges on these grounds should fall under the decisions of the highest judicial authority of the country. In order to enable the Supreme Court to pronounce judgement upon such conflicts two alternatives have been proposed :

(a) The President has to appoint a commission of eminent jurists, consisting of *Ulemas* of great learning and character and of persons qualified to be Judges of Supreme Court to examine the whole of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* and to compile from them injunctions relating to all legal matters and present the compilation to the Parliament for codification. After approval by Parliament in the form of legal code, these will become "Supreme Islamic Injunctions" or "Supreme Islamic Charter". If any law, executive order or practice of the Government is found, on challenge, to be in conflict with any provision of this Charter, the Supreme Court will declare it as invalid. After codification, this Commission of Jurists will go out of function.

OR

(b) The other alternative is a permanent institution of "Council of Muslim Jurists" to advise, as occasions arise, the Parliament, the Provincial Legislatures and the Supreme Court on conflicts of laws etc. with *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. The Chairman or a member of the Council will have the right of audience in the Legislatures and in the Supreme Court to explain the conflicts.

A list of all standard *Darul Ulooms* shall be prepared and *Sanad* or Certificates of Highest Proficiency awarded by them shall be recognized by Government. The Members of this Council (and they

can be from seven to eleven) will be elected by a special constituency of such *Ulemas* of Pakistan, holding *Sanads* or Certificates or degrees of high proficiency from *Darul Ulooms* recognized by the Federal Government for this purpose. They could be removed like a Judge of the Supreme Court.

(v) Amendment in the Constitution is another controversial matter.

Constitution can be amended by a two-third majority of the total number of members of the two Houses of Parliament. But if the amendment relates to merger of two or more provinces or parts thereof, consent of the Assembly of the Provinces concerned, by absolute majority, is necessary; and if the amendment relates to allocation of subjects in the Federal list, consent of all the Provincial Assemblies, by absolute majority, will be necessary.

Fundamental Rights have been included in this Draft. Preventive Detention is permissible only for two months after which it has to be sanctioned by Judges of the Supreme Court in the case of detention by the Central Government and Judges of the High Court in the case of detention by the Provincial Government.

A new Fundamental Right has been inserted which makes it incumbent upon the Central and Provincial Government to convert Pakistan into a welfare state.

They shall endeavour :

(a) to provide facilities for work and livelihood to all citizens;

(b) to provide basic necessities of life, like food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief to all such persons as are unable to earn their livelihood or obtain these necessities;

(c) to reduce disparity in emoluments by fixing wages in such a manner that the ratio between the highest paid and lowest paid servants is not in excess of 1 to 10;

(d) to prevent the concentration of wealth in hands of a few, so that no individual should at any time be the owner of assets in all forms of more than 20 lakhs of rupees.

Provision has been made in the Fundamental Rights to provide funds for the achievement of these ends. The Central Government and each Provincial Government is bound to set apart 5 per cent of its total revenues, over and above its ordinary budgetary expenses, for the achievement of these goals, and is also bound to undertake legislation for this purpose gradually as and when resources become available.

Literacy has been proposed as additional qualification for the membership of the legislatures.

Power of dissolution of the legislature has been taken out of the hands of the President in the cause of Federal legislature, and from the hands of Governors in the case of Provincial Legislature. Dissolution can take place only at the written requisition of 51 per cent voters for the legislatures, *i.e.* in the case of House of Representatives at the request of 51 per cent voters for that House, and in the case of Provincial Legislature 51 per cent voters for the Assembly of that Province.

If out of the income of Central Government any surplus is left, after incurring expenditure, the surplus will be distributed amongst the Provinces in the proportion of their contribution through taxes etc. to the central revenues.

Titles and Honours have been abolished.

New Provisions

A few new provisions have been proposed. A member of the Parliament and of Provincial Legislature is bound to vacate his seat if a requisition is made for his recall signed by 51 per cent electors of his constituency. Such requisitions shall be addressed to the appropriate Chief Election Commissioners, whose decision after necessary enquiry shall be final.

Old provisions relating to "Emergencies" have been omitted. Emergency now means threat of invasion or aggression from outside, or internal disturbances beyond the power of civil government to

control. In that event if the Parliament by a two-third majority decides to hand over the government and administration of the country to the army, the army can take over the government to administer the country as it deems fit to meet the emergency. But army is bound to return the country to civil administration if the parliament by a similar majority declares that the emergency has ceased to exist. The President can hand over the country to the army if circumstances demand immediate transfer. But such transfer is subject to ratification by the Parliament afterwards. But if the army takes over the country without such approval of the Parliament or fails to return the country to the civil government after the decision of the Parliament for its return. persons responsible for the breach of these provisions will be guilty.

The army will be advised in administrating the country by an Advisory Council. consisting of the Prime Minister of the country and Chief Ministers of the five Provinces.

For West Wing of Pakistan, another authority common for the four provinces is ncessary because some provincial subjects cannot be administered by them separately.

Railway, Post & Telegraphs, inter-provincial road communication. inter-provincial irrigation canals are a few examples. If inter-provincial trade and commerce, export and import be also in the provincial list, then these too cannot be administered by the four provinces separately. In respect of them, each can create barrier against the other, and strangulate its trade and commerce.

This common authority is "West Pakistan Authority" which is authorized to legislate in respect of matters mentioned in the sixth schedule. The Legislature of this Authority will consist of members of the two Houses of Parliament from the four provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier and Baluchistan. Executive authority will vest in the President, who will act on the advice of his Cabinet consisting of three or more Ministers elected by the members of Legislature at this Authority on the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote.

These, in brief, are the main outlines of this Draft and can be altered if better proposals emanate from any quarter.

I. **The Federal list is as follows :**

1. Defence of Pakistan and of every part thereof, and all acts and measures connected therewith.

The Naval, Military and Air Forces of the Federation and any other armed forces raised or maintained by the Government of the Federation; armed forces which are not forces of the Federation but are attached to or operating with any of the armed forces of the Federation.

Naval, Military and Air Force works.

Industries connected with defence: nuclear energy and mineral resources necessary for its production.

Delimitation of cantonment areas; control of house accommodation (including control of rents) in such areas.

Manufacture of arms, firearms, ammunition and explosives.

2. Foreign affairs, including all matters which bring Pakistan into relation with any foreign country.

Diplomatic, consular and trade representation.

International organizations: participation in international bodies and implementing of decisions made thereat.

War and peace: making and implementation of treaties, conventions, declarations and other agreements with foreign countries.

Foreign and extra-territorial jurisdiction; piracy and offences committed on the high seas and in the air.

Admission into and emigration and expulsion from Pakistan; extradition; passports; visas; permits and other such certificates.

3. Citizenship, naturalization of aliens.

4. Trade and commerce between the provinces, and with foreign countries; import and export across customs frontiers.

5. Currency, coinage and legal tender; State Bank of Pakistan.

6. Public debt of the Federation. and the borrowing of money on the security of the Federal Consolidated Fund; foreign loans.

7. Copyright; patents; designs and inventions; trade and merchandise marks.

8. Establishment of standards of weight and measure.

9. Posts and all forms of telecommunications, including broadcasting and television.

10. The constitution, organization, jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court (including contempt of such Court) and the fees taken therein; persons entitled to practise before the Supreme Court.

11. Elections to the Parliament and to the office of President; the Federal Election Commission.

12. Federal Services, and the Federal Public Service Commission; Federal Pensions.

13. Remuneration of the President. Ministers. Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers of the Federal Government, Chancellors, Deputy Chancellors, Members, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representative.

14. Privileges and immunities of the President.

15. Powers, privileges and immunities of the Houses of Parliament and of the members and the committees thereof.

16. Duties of customs (including export duties); taxes on income other than agricultural income.

17. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this list, excluding fees taken in courts.

18. Inquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the matters in this list.

19. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts, except the Supreme Court, with respect to any of the matters in this list; offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in this list.

2. **The sixth schedule is as follows :**

1. Railways in the Province of West Region.

2. Highway road communications connecting the Provinces of West Region.

3. Waterways and irrigation canals and channels passing through the Provinces of West Region.

4. Inter-Provincial trade and commerce, export and import and other matters in the Federal List if omitted from it.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
5 January, 1971.

KHALID M. ISHAQUE

IT is with profound sentiments of appreciation and admiration that I venture to thank Mr. Khalid M. Ishaque for accepting the invitation to address us this evening on the "Future Constitution of Pakistan". The address will serve as a stimulus to the thinking of men and women of our country, who are dedicated to the task of comprehending rationally the basic issues at stake in the framing of the Constitution.

Mr. Khalid Ishaque needs no introduction to you. When he was the Advocate-General, West Pakistan, he made headlines in the newspapers by resigning after a short tenure of office. In his speech, I am sure, he will put into it not only his legal training but a wealth of experience acquired during a distinguished national and international career. In his capacity as Advisor on Islamic Law to the Central Institute of Islamic Research he has travelled in the Muslim States of the Middle East, North Africa and the leading European Universities, to collect books and manuscripts in the field of Islamic Law, and also to observe and discuss the current legislative and legal trends in the Muslim countries and the actual research being done in the field of Islamic Law.

We people of Pakistan are striving to follow the Islamic ideology and achieve the objective for which Pakistan came into existence and for which sacrifices have been made not only in the past but also during the September 1965 *war. The Islamic way of life is, therefore, bound to come in the future pattern of the Constitution of this country. Religious law is an integral feature of Islamic thought and culture.*

The problem facing us today is the need to define the relationship between the standards imposed by religious faith and the mundane forces which activate society. Islamic Laws, though conceived and developed centuries ago, have the dynamism and flexibility to be adapted to the present-day world and a reversion to the Islamic pattern would not stand in the way of our becoming a modern and progressive society.

The future of Pakistan, therefore, lies in an intelligent appreciation and adaptation of the Islamic way of life in all its aspects. What will be the way of introducing and imposing Islamic constitution and law, what are the problems, and for this purpose what are the measures to be adopted? These are the questions which our ulema *and jurists will decide and on which will give guidance to the nation. Islam is a complete system having guiding principles for every walk of life. The role of Constitution is to help us in adapting an Islamic way of life, but by the force of Constitution alone we cannot bring any lasting and fruitful change in our lives.*

The Constitution is not an ordinary piece of legislation. It is an agreement to live together and as such must reflect the wishes and aspirations of all the people of Pakistan. The Constitution, quite naturally, should preserve Islamic ideology, which is the mainspring of our nationhood and should ensure the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan.

Let us not forget that the eyes of the whole world are on Pakistan at this crucial and challenging time. If we fail in our task, it shall be said of us that we are unfit for democracy and future generations will condemn us.

Hakim Mohammed Said



KHALID M. ISHAQUE

FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

Khalid M Ishaque

TWO Constitutions, that were made in Pakistan, have been overthrown without the benefit of a trial-run even for a decade. Now we are looking forward towards the making of a third Constitution. One cannot easily visualize the abrogation of the constitutions of countries that have enjoyed constitutional government for some time. The reasons are not far to seek. For those individuals who constitute such nations, no matter what positions they hold, and what benefits they might derive from breaches of constitution, protection and maintenance of constitutional government, is lot more important than achievement of any temporary gains or positions of power. This approach is developed not out of any inherent moral superiority, but out of native political experience. They have learnt through better constitutional struggle that great losses in field of politics have humble beginnings. It is important in this connection to understand the morphology of political power, which has become available to the politicians of countries which have acquired independence during the last two or three decades. It is inherent in the nature of political power that for its continuance it needs legitimization. Legitimacy in field of politics comes from widespread acceptance—nay a willing and often enthusiastic acceptance—of the political organization as distinguished from tolerance thereof out of fear of reprisals. It is only when people feel that those, who exercise or desire power, shall use it for public benefit, that they give unto those who command the legitimacy that they so earnestly desire. Greater the conviction in the public mind about the bona-fide of the leadership, greater is the power exercisable by political leadership. In other words the effectiveness of a government is in direct proportion to the conviction they carry in the public mind. Political power, therefore, has some inherent limitations. Only that political setup prospers which convincingly pursues the ultimate value pattern of the people, and their performance finds a wide base

and a willing and often enthusiastic public acceptance. The reason, why a particular nation enjoys constitutional government and another does not, lies in the fact that for one, constitution as a value, has a very high priority, and for the other, it has not. The overthrow of our two constitutions indicates all too clearly that they, as such, had not inspired the loyalty that an effective constitution deserves.

Why was it so? And why the experience of the developing countries in this behalf is similar? Answer to this question, in our own context, may provide us a clue to avoidance of past mistakes. The first constitution of 1956 was ushered in after a prolonged national debate extending to almost a decade. For many, an impression was created that devising of constitution would amount to discovery of a magical formula which with a mere touch would solve all political problems. The political leaders were largely to be blamed for this, because they assiduously avoided responsible exercise of power by recourse to specious argument that limits on their power are yet to come; and in the meanwhile acted on the assumption that, till then, they shall know no limits. For those who value it not, a constitution is after all just a parchment with so much ink flung on it.

For Pakistan, devising of the Constitution of 1956 brought no fresh era, and, from the very first day, it was recognized only in terms of its breaches. The supremacy of the elected representatives, the independence of the judiciary, the fundamental rights, the principles of state policy and particularly the Islamic provisions were treated alike as so much fiction, to be respected in the manner in which a tea vendor shows *EHTERAM* to *Ramazan* by hanging a curtain over the goings-on inside his shop.

The Constitution of 1956 was parliamentary in character; it had elements of federalism; it had a fair amount of provincial autonomy; it had parity; it had adult franchise; it had fundamental rights and it had Islamic provisions to which *Ulema* or a large body thereof had consented.

The Constitution of 1956 was adjudged a failure, as it lacked mechanism for stability, was too cumbersome to permit positive

Government and generally did not, it was alleged, suit the genius of the nation. When the Constitution that the Constituent Assembly had devised after almost a decade's labour, was overthrown, few tears were shed.

The Constitution of 1962 carried many of the old provisions, but was designed basically on the American pattern. The Executive had stability, and assured run of the office, the Legislatures, the central as well as provincial, were certainly weaker than what they were contemplated to be under the Constitution of 1956. The ambit of jurisdiction of the third branch of the State namely the Judiciary was also curtailed.

The experience of this Constitution indicated that if the Governments under the 1956 Constitution lacked stability, those formed under the Constitution of 1962 could not be controlled by the Legislature. Instead of laying down the norms, the Legislatures merely thumb-marked the policy devised by the Executive. People protested against the Constitution of 1962 and its architect for excessive despotism which, after all, is not far removed from unrestrained corruption.

The avoidance of Fundamental Rights, for the sake of quicker achievement of desirable social objectives in fact denuded people of all authority to say "no" to any official scheme. People were deprived of any real opportunity to affirm or to reject the official policy. Being deprived of participation and power, the people provided the classical response of lack of both responsibility and enthusiasm, and it is only natural because one, who has no power, will accept no responsibility. Having no effective part to play, people reacted by having no part in the scheme of things at all. The mounting tension between power-drunk and singularly corrupt executive and an unresponsive public brought about the disposal of the Constitution of 1962 and its architect, sooner than any one suspected.

This was not all. Corruption and nepotism primarily caused failure of One-Unit in the West Pakistan, and gave unlimited strength to the idea of greater autonomy in East Pakistan. The smaller provinces in West Pakistan and the entire East Pakistan groaned under an autocratic, oppressive and corrupt rule. The propaganda

machinery devised by the control of communication media initially launched itself on the business of deceiving people about what was being achieved, and by a stroke of poetic justice ended up by completely deceiving itself and its masters. Little was it realized that commencement of the celebrations of the great Decade would end up as the requiem of a lost decade.

A nation-wide public uprising, spontaneous and irrepressible, within days, caused the shaking to the very foundations of the Government and the Basic Democracies established under the Constitution of 1962. This was not all. The crescendo of the coming of distributive justice and economic well-being which began with the departure of the exploiting imperialist and achievement of independence, reached its highest pitch during the Ayub regime. Various factors, like the wanton display of wealth, the actual and even more loudly touted development in some spheres of industry, the enforcement of the land reforms and the titillation of desire for good things of life through cinema, radio, television and other communication media convinced the people that a secular paradise is just around the corner, and the delay in its arrival is only because of a corrupt dictator, an equally corrupt administrative agency, and a handful of rich families who between themselves were dividing and eating up the entire wealth of Pakistan. Those, who came forward to start a movement leading towards the down-fall of the oppressors, got the largest number of votes. The people voted for a social revolution. For them it did not matter as to who comes into power, but that he should be committed to changing the *status quo*. The leading political personalities lost to novices and unknown people and that too in their ancestral constituencies. Those who stood for continuance of the *status quo* and directly challenged the forces of social revolution got the worst licking. The vote, let me make it clear, was not for socialism but for a social revolution, for throwing aside of tyranny of West Pakistanis as it appeared in the East Pakistan and of bureaucracy and landlordism and big industry in West Pakistan. The pattern of voting recognized no provincial borders, or even sectarian differences. And let it not be forgotten that it was not a voting based only on the question of poverty and wealth. The pattern of voting in urban areas with poor industrial population has not always been against the rich and in favour of likes of them. There are quite a few rich industrialists,

and *Zamindars* and *Ulema* amongst those elected. The vote has been largely only for those committed to social change.

This pattern of voting to my mind would both solve and create some problems. The vote against the oppression by the West Pakistanis forces the East Pakistan leadership to stick to Six Points, not withstanding the fact that they shall form the majority government at the Centre, and with a strong Centre could remove a large number of injustices more effectively. The pattern of voting also forces both the leading political parties to persist in their threats of nationalization of land and industry, knowing fully well the serious economic implications of any irresponsible political decision in this field. In fact few leaders have found it possible to proclaim that the real problem is not so much the mal-distribution of wealth, but the lack of goods to be distributed. If the entire wealth of the so-called 22 or even 220 families is distributed right away, it would make no appreciable difference in *per capita* income. The problem is to produce more goods which do not get produced by wild cat or go-slow strikes or indifferent quality of work. The problem *inter alia* is to attract, utilize and form capital, which can happen only if people produce more than they consume. These home-truths have not been stated to the voters and there is consequently very little realization of the fact that the poverty, under which the masses of this country groan, does not arise merely from maldistribution of wealth, but from lack of goods available for distribution. Whatever be the difficulties and theeconomic limitations it appears almost inevitable that the new Constitution will have to cater to objectives of a more egalitarian distribution of wealth. How would it be possible to do so through a Constitutional instrument, is a difficult question for which no ready-made answers are available. Another equally inevitable aspect appears to be the question of provincial autonomy. The public opinion in East Pakistan is that removal of the contemporary injustices can be brought about only by greater, provincial autonomy, that is to say, that East Pakistan, in particular, should constitutionally have a position to husband its resources in accordance with its preferences. It appears that in West Pakistan, there is no opposition to East Pakistanis utilising their national wealth according to their choice and priorities. But if all the provinces, and there are four in West Pakistan, were to seek and get the type of provincial autonomy contained in the Six Points, then different types

of problems are likely to arise. The resources and the landscape of West Pakistan is basically different from that of East Pakistan. There is abundance of water supply in East Pakistan and the water resources in West Pakistan are considerably less in comparision to the area which requires water. There is considerable rainfall in East Pakistan but West Pakistan is a dry area. Besides, the major nation-building projects in West Pakistan were conceived on a West Pakistan basis somuch so that even after dissolution of WestPakistan, the WAPDA, the WPIDC and other similar bodiesengaged innation-building activities had to continue. The water-ways, the high-ways and the railways are again subjects where division might only add to cost without actually increasing efficiency. However, these are not insurmountable problems in themselves. The fact nevertheless remains that if larger projects for better utilization of water resources and mineral resources have to be undertaken then a common platform for a quicker agreement or settlement of issues between the provinces may have to be devised, particularly in the field of balancing agricultural and industrial development.

After the display of the strong centrifugal tendencies and the consequential breakup of One-Unit, it is unlikely that the political parties and particularly the Peoples Party would find it possible to agree to sub-federation within West Pakistan, though I think it is perhaps yet the most practical solution so far as the provinces in West Pakistan are concerned. To avoid deadlocks, and the feared exploitation of one province by another, a system may have to be devised, either for equal representation being given to all provinces in the sub-federation and, in case of deadlock, the question being subjected to an automatic arbitration before the Supreme Court within two months on the representations of any of the aggrieved provinces in West Pakistan, or, in the alternative, the members from West Pakistan area in the Central Legislature could themselves constitute a legislature for selected interprovincial projects. Any solution other than that a sub-federation might be a solution of necessity, but it certainly would not be the best as it would discourage development of plans on West Pakistan basis and, to my mind, massive nation-building projects would be necessary before the Pakistanis can escape the vicious circle of poverty, as provinces other than Punjab and Sind are not likely to have any financial wherewithal of launching any major nation-building projects ex-

cept with massive foreign aid. The foreign aid seldom comes without political strings attached and it might not be possible or convenient for Pakistan to simultaneously operate two or more foreign policies. If, on the other hand, international trade and aid and foreign affairs remain with the Centre, then the case for sub-federation or for a substitute thereof for the provinces of West Pakistan may not appear inevitable.

It is almost trite to say that the constitution that we seek is one for the whole nation and the very idea of nationhood is really a daily referendum, to affirm the existence of a state of mind shared by the masses all over the country, to aspire for common ideals and in a state of unity and togetherness, with an equally strong will to keep such unity before themselves as a positive ideal, for which each group within the nation be mentally prepared to make some sacrifice. Any excessive insistence by a party for a large chunk of powers, which could not fairly be made available to all the provinces, can easily destroy the delicate balance of nationhood. There is in all social units, whether be it a joint family or a nation, place for simultaneous existence of opposing tendencies pulling towards greater unity or disruption. Whenever the general moral calibre of the nation as a whole declines and the people place their rights above their obligations, the centrifugal tendencies tend to come up to the surface. The constitution to be devised, therefore, must reflect the values of the larger covenants that we as Muslims have with God Almighty to make available our lives and our wealth in fulfilment of the obligations that Islam places on us. The concept of the supremacy on *Sharia* is the larger context within which the Muslim community operates. The *Sharia* within itself fixes the values and the priorities amongst them and the believers are called upon to accept these values and priorities as fixed by Allah. Making of a constitution, as far as I understand, is an attempt to devise a lesser covenant under and within the larger covenant of Allah referred to. One major problem, that shall face the constitution makers, is the inherent conflict between the various promises they are making to the Electorate. On the one hand is the promise of radical economic reform involving massive operation of redistribution and nationalization of resources, land and industry. This power, on account of the commitment to the principle of greater provincial autonomy is *ipso facto* to be exercised by the Provincial Govern-

ment. Along with the above two major commitments, is the promise of restoring fundamental rights. The demand and promise of their restoration has been as universal and consistent as the above mentioned objectives of Radical Economic Reform and Provincial Autonomy. In fact, a major criticism against the Ayub regime was that the fundamental rights, that it gave in the Constitution of 1962, it took back in 1965 and, thereafter, for plainly inadequate reasons did not restore them. Essentially, fundamental rights are limitation on the power of governments and many governments in the developing countries have felt restless under the restraint caused by the judicially enforced fundamental rights, as they do not permit too much of social engineering and manipulations. Amongst the important fundamental rights are the right to private property and the right to get compensation for any property acquired by the Government for public purposes. There are also the fundamental rights of freedom from restraint as to opinion and speech. Now, any social programme which lays emphasis on State providing food, shelter, educationand public health facilities to all and also approves of nationalisation of land and industry must, by the same token, permit the government in power to cause a total and radical redistribution of wealth. In the countries with limited resources it would entail a right in the governments to radically interfere with all private rights. This is bound to create problems for which the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 had no adequate solution. Due to a constitutional commitment of government's undertaking to run the economic affairs of the country, the power of the Executive will expand and overshadow that of all other organs of the State. Constitutional petitions are not, we have learned from experience, an inadequate remedy, except in rare cases, both by reason of limited number of judges, and the comparatively slow judicial process. It would be worthwhile if the Constitution makers consider bringing in of an institution constituted on the pattern of Council d'Etat of France and with similar powers. A body, such as this, would combine the fairness of judicial process with completeness and adequate appellate review of the entire case. It might be noticed in this behalf that the Council d'Etat in France which is bound on pattern of courts exercising jurisdiction, like that of Maliki Law deals primarily with the disputes between citizens and the State agencies; its powers include a complete review of the entire case on facts and law· the cases of the parties are represented by trained jurists within the Council

and those who adjudicate, are persons from the judiciary and the senior civil service who have no prospect of going back into active field service. Yet another but allied problem is that of legislative powers of the heads of the Executive Branch. In the two Constitutions, the President and the Governors have enjoyed powers to make laws in cases of urgency and the President could, in cases of emergency, also suspend the fundamental rights. The courts have so far avoided a direct confrontation, by holding that the issues of urgency and emergency are both not justiciable. To my mind, suspension of fundamental rights is too important a matter to be left to the discretion of the President or even the Prime Minister with a majority vote in the Parliament. Upto now this matter has remained outside the judicial review alongwith the power to decide that an occasion exists for promulgating an ordinance. The misuse of the Ordinance-making power, to which I have already referred, would seem to indicate that the situation of urgent need for legislation which provides the sole justification for vesting of such a legislative power in the administrative agency of the Government should be justiciable to avoid misuse of authority. An express provision in this behalf would be some progress over the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962. Need is all the greater because of greater economic power that the governments propose to exercise.

Another important point to my mind is the question of bicameral legislature. Under the present system of voting on the basis of adult franchise in large constituencies, in the nature of things people without money but with commendable other qualifications to sit in the Legislature, never get an opportunity of participation in national life. For countries where percentage of literacy is low and where intellectual calibre is limited in quantity, and where most of such people belong to professions which permit them little time for a wholetime political life, the problem of obtaining their participation in national life is of fundamental importance. The Constituent Assembly, that has now come into being and which shall carry the burden of framing a constitution, certainly does not have the best brains in the country or the best qualified people within the community to sit in the House. This is not to say that most of the people, who will sit, are not good enough. The point is that the business of legislation is fast becoming an expert's trade. The function of the legislature is to provide not merely an imaginative, intelligent, and

moral set of laws but also practical leadership to guide and control the bureaucracy. The Ministers, selected on some basis catering to provincial and parochial feeling, would hardly have the capacity to control the powerful bureaucracy that the ever-increasing economic responsibilities of the State would bring into existence. One solution that the Constitution of 1962 visualised in this behalf was the formation of the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology, but that, I think, is hardly a satisfactory solution of the problem facing the nation perhaps in the new context would be irrelevant. The only effective solution to my mind is a second House to which the election should be on the basis of representation being made available to universities, to legal profession, to medical profession, to Chamber of Commerce and Industry, trade unions, and the bodies engaged in projects of national development. These persons would, I imagine, bring in the requisite intellectual calibre which would compare at great advantage with that of the other House or of the Civil Service. It was for fairly similar reasons that India opted for two Houses and I think the work of legislation has not suffered in that country for reason of there being two Houses. I, for one, am of the opinion that Pakistan already has too many laws enough to turn it into a welfare State, and that the main problem facing this country is not quick legislation but a more matured and consistent approach towards the problem of implementation of the laws already in force. It has been an unfortunate habit with the politicians in the developing countries that they often imagine that making of a quick and idealistic law amounts to fulfilment of their promises to the electorate. How grievously erroneous is such a notion, we have learnt from our experience. Fewer laws but more effective implementation has to be the basic approach. The guidance and control of bureaucracy, therefore, is a problem of first magnitude. The control of bureaucracy could be achieved only at the hands of persons with advanced education and experience in the open competitive society, who for social authority do not rely merely on official positions. It is also worthwhile to remember that countries which have been reckless in legislating many laws have often brought a situation of vesting too much powers in the executives who are given the responsibility of enforcing these laws, with the result, that, soon enough bureaucracy tends to eat up the legislative and the judicial branch. Therefore, the mere fear of delay in the legislation to my mind, should not be a major consideration against having a second House. One

final problem of importance is that of the Islamic provisions in the Constitution. The Islamic provision in the 1962 Constitution were a definite advance on the Islamic provisions as contained in the 1956 Constitution. Article 7 of the Constitution of 1962 provided that the various organs of the State would abide by the principle of state policy in the discharge of their respective functions The first amongst these principles of state policies was that no law shall be in conflict with the provisions of *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* Yet the catch in the whole situation was that the Islamic provisions were not justiciable so that no person could approach a court of law with a grievance that a particular authority within the state had acted in contravention of the principles of *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*. Furthermore, in the relevant provision a protection was given to sectarian views in the matters of personal law. I am confident that if any constitution has to prosper in Pakistan, it has to find its basis in the Islamic loyalties of the nation because those are primary loyalties to which the nation has turned at all times of national crisis The problem of effectively introducing Islamic provisions has been taxing the nation for over two decades now. As *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* were both sought to be enforced simultaneously and as *Sunnah* is not free from conflict in regard to its content meaning, and application. the whole question of justiciability of Islamic provisions has remained in abeyance much to the disadvantage of the whole nation. It is not wise to postpone the commencement of a journey because one cannot be assured in advance, of the end of the journey Allah has declared in the *Qur'an* unequivocally that 'this day I have perfected the *Deen* and I have chosen Islam as your *Deen*.' In other words, *Deen* was complete within the life-times of the Prophet (peace be on him) and opinons of persons after him may constitute a brilliant example, but are not part of the *Deen itself*. The conflict of the Prophet never resulted in one of them calling another *Kafir*, but their opinions were just so many possible ways of solving a problem, or of applying a principle derived from the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*, to a concrete problem. The position of school that came into existence centuries later cannot be any higher. We could make a start by prescribing that all courts in Pakistan may, in the interpretation and enforcement of laws, apply the Qur'anic provisions and principles derived therefrom and secondly that cases of conflict may be resolved by the superior courts in the field of public law again by

resort to the same principles. The superior courts, that is to say, the High Courts and the Supreme Court, shall, in such cases, issue notices to parties and to *Ulema* and after hearing such amongst the various views presented one is chosen as best-suited to solve contemporary problems. This would confine the choice strictly to Islamic, ethical and judicial experience and the fears of introduction of foreign ideas would be effectively allayed. In suitable cases the Legislature could even intervene by sorting out the problems by appropriate legislation when situations might arise, due to the failure of a court in achieving its professed objectives. A *Sunnah* is after all the exemplification of the Qur'anic principles and, therefore, logically it cannot be contrary to what is contained in the *Qur'an*. Under the circumstances, it is only by this method that the *Sunnah* material could be usefully applied. It has often been said that there is considerable conflict between the *Sunnah* as related and transmitted by various schools. This should again not present a serious problem because if the Prophet of Allah (may peace be on him) had chosen to apply a principle or set of principles differently to different situations, then in this application there is guidance for the believers and both methods would be permissible to the members of the community. The courts could, in such cases, in accordance with the *Sunnah*, suggest one solution as being more appropriate in the circumstances of an actual dispute or problem before them. One should also not fear that such legislative provisions in the Constitution would open the field for a large number of real or imaginary disputes being placed before courts of law. A short answer could be that if there is any conflict with the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*, then it is the duty of the community to resolve it as soon as possible. One does not stop opening hospital for fear of many patients seeking admission. The answer is that just as fundamental rights which ultimately are nothing but moral precepts have been applied wisely by the courts in judging laws and their operations, one could expect the superior courts to be equally wise in the application of principles of Muslim Law. It is needless to remind that already in the field of Family and Personal Law, a considerable part of Islamic Law is in operation. There are, besides the problems referred to, many other matters of importance and if I have omitted to mention some subjects, it is not because I felt they were unimportant but because I feel that those, I have mentioned, are to my mind more important.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
21 January, 1971.

PROF. ATIQUZZAMAN KHAN

A hundred years hence, men will read of the 20th century times and fashions, political happenings and technological advancements, reforms and discoveries, incursions into the past and excursions into space, in contemporary literature. This contemporary literature will open up magic casements into the challenging 20th century and future generations will say "This is how it was, This is how it was done". What can be visualised a hundred years hence, is happening even now. Much of our knowledge of the past—architectural, political, social, religious and cultural—is based on literatures, remains and relics of those times. The subject of this Sham *"East Bengal in the 19th century as reflected through contemporary journals" will be a masterly attempt to view East Bengal in the 19th century through the eyes of writers who portrayed its political, social and religious life in their writings. The spirit of Eastern Bengal shines through the songs, ballads, folk lyrics and novels of the century. The observation of the writers and composers was so keen that they have given a true and faithful picture of their society and the country. Mir Musharraf Husain, Lalaushah, Ilalsha, Bhelalshah, Shah Badiuddin, Shaikh Mansur, Syed Hamza, Munshi Raziuddin, Ismail Husain Shirazi, Mozammil Haq, Azhar Ali, Syed Imdad Ali, Syed Ameer Ali, Akram Khan, Dr. Shahidullah and a host of others have made scholarly contributions and have captured the life and spirit of East Bengal of the 19th century.*

The Guest Speaker of this afternoon, Professor Atiquzzaman Khan, is a personality in the realm of journalism, who by scientific research into and dedication to his profession has risen to distinguished heights. From the start of his school career he had been marked out for journalism. After studying at the London School of Journalism, he served proficiently on several newspapers of Pakistan, became the Director of Public Relations, E.P. WAPDA, and started the Department of Journalism at the University of Dacca in 1962. An author of merit, a lover of sports, a linguist of excellence—he is a versatile man with formidable accomplishments.

Before I relinquish the platform to him, I would like to moralise on the responsibility of contemporary journalism with special relation to the future. Journalism and literature are very powerful mediums of communication with far-reaching influences. They are not merely informative but also educative. They provide windows into the past. Therefore they should be characterised by the passion for truth, honesty, sobriety, dedication and dignity, because through them future generations will know us, condemn or applaud us.

Hakim Mohammed Said



PROFESSOR ATIQUZZAMAN KHAN
(From left: Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury
and Hakim Mohammed Said)

EAST BENGAL IN THE 19TH CENTURY AS REFLECTED THROUGH CONTEMPORARY JOURNALS

Professor Atiquzzaman Khan

SINCE the time Hicky's **"Bengal Gazette"** was published from Calcutta in 178'), journals and newspapers in Bengal remained largely concentrated in and around Calcutta. The reason for this concentration is much too obvious. Calcutta was not only the capital of British India at that time but also the hub of commercial activities.

East Bengal (now East Pakistan) functioned as the hinterland of the then Bengal and continued to play that role well upto the time of independence in 1947. As such the development of newspaper industry in any part of East Pakistan on a large scale was neither considered possible by the neglected people of this area nor was such a venture thought necessary by the ruling class, as also by the more literate, dominant and affluent non-Muslim section of the population.

As a backdrop to this study it is, therefore, necessaiy that some sort of stock-taking is done about the journals and periodicals that were published in 19th century Bengal. But in attempting such a build-up considerable difficulties are experienced primarily for three basic reasons.

Firstly, most of the journals and periodicals that were published in 19th century East Bengal do not find adequate mention in standard books of journalism written and produced from India. For instance, the appendices attached to **"The Indian Press"** (by Margarita Barns) do not contain a fully representative list of journals published from Bengal in the 19th century in particulaı. The same is the case with S. Natarajan's **"History of the Press in India** Consequently a

helpful size-up of the journals and periodicals published from Bengal in the 19th century from books of reference of this nature is not possible.

Secondly, the task becomes more difficult as majority of these journals had a short tenure of life and very little effort was made by the then British Government to keep copies of these journals even at well-established reference centres like the Imperial Library at Calcutta.

And finally, at the time of independence in 1947, no thoughtful effort was made by the authorities in Pakistan to make an inventory of journals and periodicals that should have legitimately fallen to the share of Pakistan.

In this connection, it is worthy of mention that even after 20 years of independence little effort was made by the District Administrators of East Pakistan to collect the remnants of a few privately owned journals of 19th century East Bengal like the **"Hindu Ranjika"**, which was published from Rajshahi.

Therefore, by way of providing a supporting prop to this study, an extensive scrutiny was made of the newspaper holdings of the India Office Library, London. The finding is that out of its total collection for 30 newspapers published from Bengal, the India Office Library has only two worthwhile news-journals of 19th century East Bengal to offer, viz. the weekly **Dacca News** and the bi-weekly **Bengal Times.**

CALCUTTA-BASED JOURNALS

The following list of newspaper holdings at the India Office Library, London, endorses the above-mentioned findings:

Bengal Herald (Calcutta), 1843; **Bengal Hurkaru** (Calcutta), 1822-1866; **The Bengal Times** (Dacca), 1876-1908; **Bengalee** (Calcutta), 1876-1917; **Calcutta Christian Herald** (Calcutta), 1844-45; **Calcutta Courier,** 1832-1842; **Calcutta Gazette** (Calcutta), 1784-1815; **Calcutta Government Gazette** (Calcutta), 1815-1832; **Calcutta Morning Post** (Calcutta), 1812-1813; **Calcutta Municipal**

Gazette (Calcutta), 1924-1936; **Capital** (Calcutta), 1928-1948; Dacca News (Dacca), 1856-1858; **Englishman** (Calcutta), 1834-1930; **Englishman Overland Mail** (Calcutta), 1876-1890; **Englishman Weekly Summary** (Calcutta), 1891-1914; **Forward** (Calcutta), 1948; **Friend of India Daily** (Calcutta), 1872-1889 and 1915 to date; **Hicky's Bengal Gazette** (Calcutta), 1780-1782; **Hindu Patriot** (Calcutta), 1876-1889; **India Gazette** (Calcutta), 1782-1788 and 1822-1843; **Indian Agriculturist** (Calcutta), 1876-1916; **Indian Daily News** (Calcutta), 1867-1889; **Indian Daily News Overland** (Calcutta), 1875-1885 and 1894-1898; **Indian Economist** (Calcutta), 1869-1875; **Indian Lancet** (Calcutta), 1873; **Indian Mirror** (Calcutta), 1878-1889; **Indian Nation** (Calcutta), 1908-1913; Indian Observer (Calcutta), 1871-1881; **Muslim Chronicle** (Calcutta), 1895-1905; and **Statesman and Friend of India** (Calcutta), 1872-1889 and 1915 to date.

From the above list it is also apparent that the India Office Library does not offer any substantial help to a Journalism researcher set with the task of reconstructing the framework of newspapers and journals that were produced from 19th century East Bengal.

Similar is the case with the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale, London. Apart from having the duplicate issue of **Hicky's Bengal Gazette,** this Library is primarily in possession of newspapers and journals that are useful to researchers particularly interested in compiling a history of the West Bengal Press.

Survey Reports

Likewise, if a study of the official minutes and survey reports of the then Government is made, the case of East Bengal, to a large extent, goes by default.

One of the earliest mention of newspaper surveys can be found in the Official Minute dated September 24, 1828 and which was signed by the then Post Master General, Mr. G. Stockwell. In this Minute only 5 papers viz., **Bengal Hurkaru, John Bull, Calcutta Chronicle, India Gazette** and **Government Gazette** are referred to. All these papers were published from Calcutta.

After nearly half a century another official enquiry (conducted by Sir George Campbell) was made into the state of the Indian-owned press of Bengal. The 1873 enquiry showed that 38 papers were in existence at that time (Margarita Barns "The Indian Press", page 272). Out of these mention has been made in the Report under reference of only 9 papers that were produced from the eastern part of the province. These were: **Mahapap Balva Bibaha** (Dacca); **Gram Dut** (Barisal); **Balaranjika** (Barisal); **Hitasadhani** (Barisal); **Hindu Ranjika** (Rajshahi); **Barisal Bartabaha** (Barisal); **Rangpur Dik Prakash** (Rangpur); **Banga Bandhu** (Dacca) and **Dacca Prakash** (Dacca). Of these journals, only copies of **Dacca Prakash** are available in the Dacca University Library. The rest are non-existent.

But it can safely be asserted that these journals were not newspapers in the modern sense of the word as news dissemination was not their primary function.

If an analysis is made of the journals and periodicals of Bengal that were produced during the first half of the 19th century, the conclusion that patently offers itself is this: that beginning with the production of **Dig Darshan** in 1818 and ending up with the publication of **Jagaduddipika Bhaskara** in 1846 from Calcutta, except for one Journal (**Rangpur Bartabaha**) other 33 journals of this period that are listed below had anything to do with the present-day East Pakistan in matters of gathering and reporting news broad-based on information, education and entertainment:

Dig Darshan (Serampur); **Samachar Darpan** (Serampur); **Friend of India** (Serampur); **Bengal Gazette** (Calcutta); **Calcutta Journal** (Calcutta); **Morning Post** (Calcutta); **John Bull in the East** (Calcutta); **Sangbad Kaumudi** (Calcutta); **Samachar Chandrika** (Calcutta); **Jam-i-Jahan Numa** (Calcutta); **Mirat-ul-Akhbar** (Calcutta); **Sangbad Timir Nashak** (Calcutta); **Shamsul Akhbar** (Calcutta); **Udant Martand** (Calcutta); **Akhbar-e-Serampur** (Serampur); **Bengal Chronicle** (Calcutta); **Banga Duta** (Calcutta); **Bengal Herald** (Calcutta); **Parthenon** (Calcutta); **Samachar Sabha Rajendra** (Calcutta); **Sangbad Prabhakar** (Calcutta); **Sangbad Sudhakar** (Calcutta); **Jananveshan** (Calcutta); **Anubadika** (Calcutta); **Reformer** (Calcutta); **Sangbad Ratnakar** (Calcutta); **Hesperus** (Calcutta); **The**

East Indian (Calcutta); **Aina-i-Sikandar** (Calcutta); **Mah-i-Alam Afroze** (Calcutta); **Sultan-ul-Akhbar** (Calcutta); **Mihr-i-Munir** (Calcutta); and **Jagaduddipaka Bhaskara** (Calcutta).

In view of this it would be legitimate to state that the concept of Press in East Bengal grew with the English weekly **Dacca News** which started publication from 1856.

The Dacca News (1856—1858)

The first issue of the **Dacca News** was published on April 26, 1856 and from the imprint line it is noticed that Mr. A.R. Forbes was its editor and one Sreenath Dutt was the printer and publisher. Its subscription was Rs. 6/8 per annum and it had a flat advertisement rate of 2 annas per line. The size of the paper was 11" × 7". It had two columns only, each of 32 inches. The price of each issue was 2 annas. The types were handset.

A content analysis of this weekly shows that its news treatment was basically confined to happenings in and around Dacca. Occasionally it also ran "Letters to the Editor" feature, and almost every week it printed a table of prices of commodities like jute, rice, mustard seeds, gram, pulses, wheat and ghee. These prices were obtained from Serajganj and the table, more or less, provided a business summary of East Bengal and incorporated items like the price of bullion, the corresponding weekly imports and the prevailing transport charges for boat-hire to Calcutta etc.

It also ran lengthy features on Indigo Planters, the Dacca Municipality, Indian Mutiny and its trend in Dacca, Chittagong and Sylhet, and occasionally lifted extracts from newspapers like **The Times**, London and **The Friend of India,** Calcutta.

But its outstanding feature was the gathering and publishing of district news with the help of its own correspondents based in mofussil areas. In 1856 this was a very difficult pursuit as postal facilities were inadequate and communication between Dacca and the outlying districts of East Bengal were extremely poor. This is borne out by the fact if reference is made to a letter published in **Dacca News** which runs as follows:

"............The postal distance between Faridpur and Dacca is 57 miles. There are 11 Dak stages and 44 runners, to each stage. The average distance between the stages is five and a quarter miles, the rate of speed required to be attained in the transit of the mails is 5 miles an hour".

From 1858 the **Dacca News** was printed by one Mr. J.A. Minas and under his guidance it is noticed that district coverage of news was considerably increased.

To the **Dacca News,** therefore, belongs the credit of providing the initial news-base for journalism in East Bengal. That there was such a thing as news value could be made out from item like "Progress at Noakhali" (**Dacca News,** 25th April, 1857). The following report was sent to **Dacca News** by its own correspondent based in Noakhali :

"I am highly delighted to see the people of Noakhali manifesting an earnest desire for the mental and physical improvement of this country. With this view the native gentry have lately established a society, by name **Hitasadhani**. The members meet at Babu Bakul Chandra Majumder's, the Collectorate Sherestadar, on every Sunday at 2 P.M. and discuss the following subjects: First Sunday of the month—religion; Second Sunday of the month—welfare of the country; Third Sunday of the month—education; Fourth Sunday of the month—regulation. It has also been resolved by the members that they will propose to the Joint Magistrate reasonable improvements of the town to be effected from the public fund available".

The list of office-bearers runs as follows :

Babu Ram Gopal Roy—President: Gokul Chandra Roy—Vice President; Girish Chandra Dutt—Secretary for English; Abhoy Chandra Choudhry—Secretary for Bengali".

The following extracts from the Editor's Note proves the point that this Dacca-based weekly evinced keen interest in having news from the mofussil areas for the benefit of its readers. Commenting on the item from Noakhali the editor writes :

"We shall have much pleasure in publishing the proceedings of the society. We are glad to see such societies aie springing up. They will train the people to be able one day to take part in the government of themselves—Editor, **Dacca News**".

The editorials of this weekly were models of frankness and despite the difficult times the **Dacca News** never faltered in criticising the then Government. In one of its leaders on "Eastern Bengal, its wants and the way to have them satisfied" (Saturday, 20th March, 1858), it holds a telling brief for giving more attention to East Bengal. It writes :

"Every one must acknowledge that after Calcutta, Dacca is the key of Bengal and Assam". Then again "it is a shame and a disgrace that Dacca should be neglected as it is. It has once been visited by a commander-in-chief, once by a Lt. Governor, twice or thrice by Bishops; it is a terra incognita to our rulers. Inspite of this, Dacca exports several millions sterlings per annum. Dacca is too quiet. Let the indigo planters of Mymensingh and Dacca shout it as a war-cry and then we may hope to get steamers for our produce and turn the course of the railway towards Dacca through Faridpur".

The Bengal Times (1876-1890)

The **Bengal Times** was published from Dacca. It was a bi-weekly English Journal. From the imprint line it appears that it was published by one Mr. E.C. Komp. It had a print area of $18\frac{1}{4}''$ × $12\frac{1}{2}''$. It had four columns and the width of each column was 3 inches. It was published every Wednesday and Saturday and the price of each copy was 8 annas for the Town edition and 9 annas for the Dak edition. Its advertisement rates were: Rs. 25 for $\frac{1}{4}$ column, Rs. 35 for $\frac{1}{2}$ column and Rs. 60 for 1 column.

When it is considered that in 1876-77 news dissemination facilities in a district town like Dacca were appallingly poor, it is very revealing to note that despite such handicaps this bi-weekly could provide local and district news with almost the maturity of a modern newspaper.

The following news item gives an indication as to the nature of communication that existed between Dacca and the outlying sub-divisions of East Bengal :

> "As the monsoon has advanced on and from Ist July 1877 the post between Dacca and Manikganj will be conveyed by boat instead of runners". (**Bengal Times**, June 30, 1877).

The Bengal Times from 1876 to 1900 A.D. also provides a very helpful socio-economic picture of 19th century Dacca, in particular and this newspaper can serve as a top-rate source material for projecting the socio-economic picture of 19th century East Bengal.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Dacca.
11 February, 1971.

DR. ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI

THE Muslim World today is faced with a grave crisis that is born of a conflict between material forces and spiritual values. We have to make our way through this crisis, if we wish to fulfil the role, that history has assigned to us. In addition to this crisis, our nation is faced with a host of problems concerning our social and economic achievements, national integrity and defence. Our country has been making heroic efforts to solve these problems and has gained some measure of success. Sham-i-Hamdard *too plays its part in national reconstruction by creating an awareness of our socio-economic predicament and infusing a sense of national cohesion and spirit of service into our people.*

Today the economic problems facing Pakistan have precipitated their gravity and urgent need of solution if national progress is to be achieved. I know of no better authority to highlight these economic problems than Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, whose expertise and vast experience in finance and economics is well-known. Besides holding various distinguished national and international posts, he was appointed Economic Advisor to the Government of Pakistan, from where he retired in April 1970.

A careful study of the conditions created in Pakistan, during the last few years, which we have hitherto been observing, would reveal the fact that economic conditions are their cause. Economics occupies a basic place in planning and when its importance is ignored, corruption and evils become rampant. We have made efforts to solve economic problems in the specific conditions of our country, but the blunders committed intentionally and unintentionally have never been conducive to their solution.

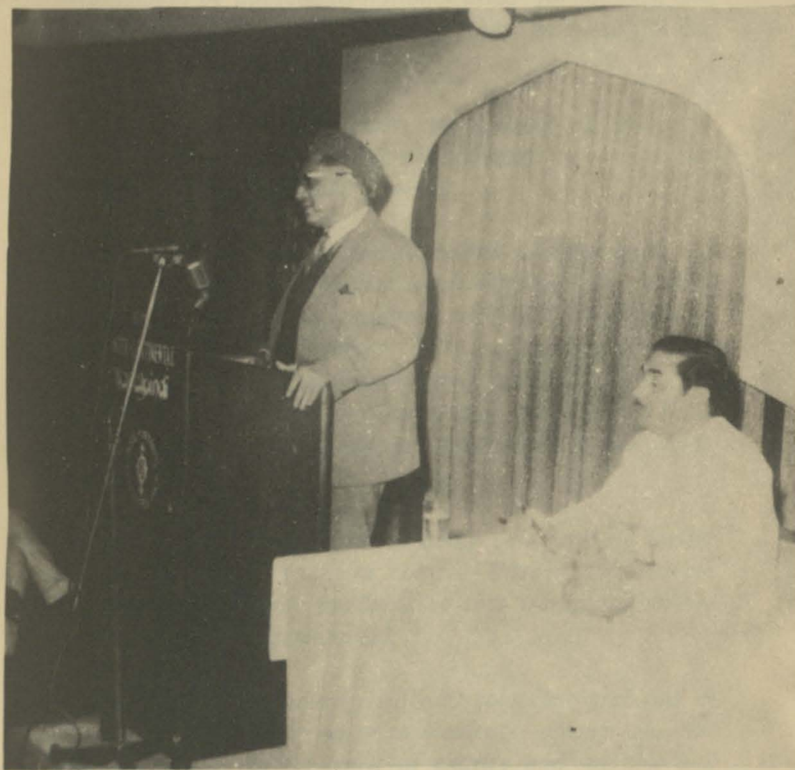
The greatest and most destructive of these blunders has been our indifference to our means and resources, and our immense reliance upon foreign aid and assistance. As a natural consequence thereof,

we have been deprived of a great quality—self-reliance and self-sufficiency. In addition, we gave up simplicity and adopted glamour and luxury. We demanded things which were not found in our country, and for whose acquisition neither our country nor our people were competent.

We should not at all forget the fact that foreign aid at the present time spotlights the paraphernalia for luxury and comfort. Its basic lesson is reliance upon foreign countries. I have no idea of the viewpoint of our Guest Speaker, and the way he will introduce our economic problems to you. But I cannot help making the remark that without dispensing with foreign aid and adopting self-reliance and self-sufficiency, we shall never be able to solve our economic problems. Pakistan has recently seen the advent or import of an intellectual revolution. But in case we did evolve a right policy out of this intellectual revolution, and failed to solve Pakistan's crucial economic problems on healthy lines, and in the light of realism, Pakistan should be ready for a series of revolutions.

We are not in a position to rely completely on the newly emerging leadership. The ways we have chosen and the ideas that we have tentatively accepted for the intellectual revolution, carry strong implications for the complication of our economic problems rather than for their solution. And by no means will it be an easy task to face such a phenomenon.

Careful thinking over our problems and an effort to find out the causes of our difficulties would definitely lead us to the conclusion that no leadership has yet emerged in Pakistan who has sincerely made an effort to implement the Shari'ah *of Islam—the commandments of the Holy* Qur'an *and the* Sunnah. *This situation is not peculiar to Pakistan. It exists throughout the Muslim World. All the anti-Islamic Powers have created the same conditions everywhere that we observe in Pakistan, with their full intensity. Pakistan has hitherto been acknowledged as an invincible bastion of the Muslim World. But the defenders of this bastion have themselves been swept by the flood of materialism because of their involvement in barren confusion and disunity, and have practically negated the commandment of the Holy* Qur'an: *"Hold ye strong to the string of Allah collectively".* *The revival of Islam after this* Karbala *is now anxiously awaited.*



DR. ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI
(Hakim Mohammed Said is on the right)

Before I conclude I have 10 *points to offer, which I think, are necessary to obtain and practise, if progress is to be achieved:*

(1) *Simplicity in every sense, in every field and sphere of life should be the national motto.*

(2) *Fashion shows and beauty parades should be banned. The whole nation must wear simple clothes, possibly* Khaki *dress should be adopted as national dress for all men, and women too. Men should not forget that gold and silk are not meant for them.*

(3) *The struggle to have a high standard of living has proved to be extremely damaging. We should learn to live within our own and the national means.*

(4) *The exhibition of all foreign films and demonstration of foreign troupes must be banned throughout the country because firstly they are produced with the specific idea of destroying our Islamic values and cultural heritage and secondly they negate all Islamic and national values. Instead we should mobilise our talent to produce our own films and plays to teach our youth our own philosophy and ideals of life.*

(5) *The import of luxury items including cars must be totally banned for twenty years to come. Instead innumerable buses should be made available so that transportation becomes simpler and economical.*

(6) *Nationalisation of industry will not solve our problems at this stage. It shall be wiser to inculcate among our industrialists the perfect spirit of charity and sacrifice and create* Waqfs *and Trusts of their profits. The income of* Waqfs *and Trusts should be spent by them voluntarily on national institutions such as education, health and social welfare institutions etc.*

(7) *Preparation of non-productive schemes, their propagation and finally their shelving has become a fashion in our coun-*

try. It is equal to duping the nation. Such practices should be stopped. Instead realities should be our goal.

(8) *Using workers and students for political purposes is criminal. All possible facilities should be provided to workers and peasants to produce more for national reconstruction and to students to study more for nation-building and to ably shoulder the responsibilities of tomorrow.*

(9) *The nation is not barren of thinkers. Men of letters should be given maximum national status so that they could visualise realities and chalk out a path for national progress.*

(10) *All the palaces of industrialists and business magnates should be converted into educational institutions and these industrialists and magnates should be persuaded to run those educational institutions. Future house-building should have limitations on their dimensions and decor.*

All this requires a renaissance of the spirit and a reformation of the existing practices. Only then will we progress from darkness to light.

Hakim Mohammed Said

ECONOMIC PROBLEM FACING PAKISTAN

Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi

THE four principal factors which determine the inherent strength of any country's economy are :

(1) Natural Resources

(2) Human Resources

(3) Capital Resources

(4) Political, Social and Religious Environment

I shall discuss these at some length and determine how Pakistan stands in regard to each of these and then state the main economic problems facing the country.

(1) NATURAL RESOURCES

The natural resources of Pakistan are far too poor than it is generally realized. Nature has been most niggardly and cruel. It is somewhat unfortunate that neither the people nor its leaders fully realize how Pakistan has been maltreated in regard to this aspect. We as a nation are prone to live in the past and very often have rather hazy and wrong notions about the past. The past several generations have been brought up under the notion that the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent was a golden sparrow and all foreign nations looked at it with coveted eyes due to its immense wealth. Not only the common man but many of its scholars are prone to dwell on the glory of the Mughal Empire and the rich heritage which it left in the form of some unique buildings in the world. Reference is also made about the riches of the kings. But it is seldom realized that the glamour of the court and the riches of the kings

did not filter through to the common man who lived in abject poverty.

The natural resources of the country are determined by :

(*a*) its climate;

(*b*) vegetation;

(*c*) availability of various minerals and

(*d*) land resources.

Now let us see how Pakistan fares in regard to these.

(*a*) **CLIMATE**

The two wings of Pakistan have different climatic conditions. In West Pakistan it is a climate of sharp contrasts. The climate of the southern and western parts is very dry. In the southern areas, the average annual rainfall is 5 inches. In the north, however, the average rainfall is 16 inches. The wide variations of rainfall in the province can be gauged from the figures for 1966: Karachi 0 ; Jacobabad 1" ; Multan 7" ; Lahore 21" ; Peshawar 14" ; Rawalpindi 46" and Quetta 5". However, the general average rainfall is less than 20 inches. Normally, the northern and the north-eastern parts of the Province receive greater rainfall than the southern and south-eastern parts. Temperatures too vary greatly in West Pakistan between summer and winter. The northern mountainous regions get snowfall in winter and remain fairly cool in summer. In the south, a maximum of 120°F has been recorded at Jacobabad. Over a larger part of the country, a mean daily maximum of 110°F to 112°F is recorded during summer and 65°F during the coldest months of winter. However, along the sea coast the climate remains fairly mild both in winter and in summer.

East Pakistan, on the other hand, has a very damp tropical climate, with an average humidity of 70 per cent throughout the year. The mean temperatures during winter and summer are 65°F and 90°F respectively. The high percentage of humidity

is due partly to the presence of a greater volume of water and partly to the heavy rainfall with an average of about 85" throughout the Province and a maximum of about 250" in the district of Sylhet.

Rainfall plays a very important role in the economy of any country but more so in a country on which largely depends the prosperity of agriculture. The distribution of rainfall in Pakistan is defective to the highest conceivable degree. Sind and Baluchistan, on an average, have a rainfall of about 5". As a consequence there are large desert areas. The growth of agriculture was retarded until some rivers were harnessed and a net-work of barrages and canals, especially in Sind, was made during the course of last 40 years. Unfortunately, due to the sandy nature of the soil, some of the lands which had been brought under cultivation after very heavy expenses, are now becoming unfit due to water logging and salinity. No water resources have been developed in Baluchistan, which has an extreme climate. The winter is so severe that little cultivation is possible. Water is so scarce that it is not available in many parts even for drinking purposes. Moving up further, the rainfall in most parts of the Punjab is less than 20" which is not adequate for cultivation purposes. The worst part is that about 70% of this rainfall comes in torrents in the two monsoon months and often results in far more harm than good. There is no doubt that the country is blessed with rivers on which canals have been built, which has been a great blessing for the development of profitable agriculture. These rivers would have been far more useful if these were navigable. They also change their course too often. The prosperity of this province has been dependent on a net-work of canals but here the problem of water-logging and salinity is far more severe than in Sind because irrigation started here much eariler. The Government is spending tremendous funds to fight these twin evils; but it is a very expensive fight. For larger areas of land are going out of cultivation due to the spread of these two evils than they are brought under cultivation by new canals and by curing water-logging and salinity through lowering the sub-soil water level by an expensive system of water pumping and drainage. The climate of the NWFP is, except few districts, quite hostile and there also in some areas water-logging has been causing quite a heavy damage. As a result we find that population is very sparse in Baluchistan and part of the NWFP especially the tribal belt

where nature is more hostile, with barren hills, severe climate and little rainfall and cultivation.

(*b*) VEGETATION

East Pakistan is a land of lush green fields. Owing to its tropical climate, all sorts of tropical plants and vegetation are commonly found here. It is a land of tropical beauty with about 16% of its area under forest.

West Pakistan has much smaller vegetation than East Pakistan, owing partly to inadequate rain and partly to the rocky or sandy nature of the soil. The Western province has only 2.5% of its area under forests. Most of the forests are to be found in Amb, Dir, Chitral and Swat.

Agronomists are of the view that in order to provide necessary protection to the country, prevent floods and other climatic hazards and to provide timber requirements of the country, 20 per cent of the area of a country should be under forests. Taking West Pakistan as a whole, the percentage instead of 20 is only about 2½. The Eastern Wing of the country which is separated from West Pakistan by a distance of 1,000 miles of alien territory, has a rainfall varying from 60" to 250", which is too good for the benefit of the country. While West Pakistan suffers from drought and scarcity of rainfall, East Pakistan, where rainfall is over abundant, is often the victim of floods; and on the top of this, its economy often gets shattered due to severe cyclones. The recent cyclone havoc was unprecedented in the world history, which took a toll, it is said, of 10 to 15 lakh people and the loss of property and agricultural wealth appears beyond calculation. I need not dwell on the human misery which has been too pathetic for words. The unfortunate part is that these cyclones are far too frequent. It is the result of floods and cyclones that agriculture is adversely affected in East Pakistan and the lack of capital formation in this important sector of economy on which more than 70% of the population is dependent, has been responsible for its perpetual poverty. East Pakistan rivers though navigable and in many respects a great asset and blessing to the country, are often the fountain-head of tyranny as they often overflow and take heavy toll of life and property.

As regards the forests wealth, East Pakistan is much better placed than West Pakistan and forest area is about 16 per cent, but even this area is inadequate from the accepted minimum standards.

(c) MINERAL RESOURCES

There is a conspicuous absence of mineral resources in both Wings of the country. There are no iron ores of good quality, which is a sinew for steel industry and very essential for national development. Poor quality coal deposits are found in West Pakistan, which are largely meant for brick burning. East Pakistan is completely lacking even in these poor quality coal deposits. Other important minerals are also lacking in both Wings of the country. The economy of East Pakistan is most vulnerable due to lack of mineral resources. For building roads even stone is not available and the one cement factory which exists (another is being built, which will be dependent on raw material imported from West Pakistan) is closing down as the basic raw material was imported from India which has been stopped. East Pakistan is far more poor in mineral resources than West Pakistan and West Pakistan is in no happy position either. Only small quantity of petrol is available in Rawalpindi area which merely meets 20% of West Wing's requirements, which are growing fast. As a result the country has to import crude oil to the tune of Rs. 25 crores to meet its requirements. We need not dwell any further on the poverty of the natural resources in the country, and it is this poverty which is largely responsible for comparative low economic development. At no stage in the known history, the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent has ever been really a prosperous country. Its prosperity which was confined to few towns was largely exaggerated by the foreign travellers and the court historians who never knew the magnitude of the stark poverty in the country. They only knew the glamour that was found in the imperial court cities. Examples are given about the Dacca muslin and some silks etc. These, no doubt, were excellent examples, but the magnitude was quite small and these relate to the period before the industrial revolution in the west. The much advertised prosperity in the country during the early days of East India Company was due to production of indigo when the modern type of synthetic colours were not discovered, and also to the opium trade which was gradually banned due to

pressure of world opinion. The Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent attracted attention of foreign traders and became famous largely for its spices trade as these were needed in Europe for preservation of meats. The demand for this began to decline with better scientific preservation methods.

Thus it is noticed that fundamentally Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent has been rather very poorly endowed with natural resources and nature has treated it quite niggardly.

As long as we are not able to find petroleum in large quantities and some good quality iron ore and coal, we should not expect any radical improvement in the economic well-being of the country.

(*d*) LAND RESOURCES

The area of East Pakistan is 55.126 square miles and that of West Pakistan 3,10,403. On this much smaller area, East Pakistan in 1970 had a population of 7.06 crore while West Pakistan had only 5.78 crore. This pressure can be better appreciated from Table 1 which is taken from 1961 census.

TABLE 1

PRESSURE OF POPULATION

Locality		Area (sq. mile)	Population	Density per sq. mile
Pakistan*	..	3,65,529	9,37,20,613	256
East Pakistan	..	55,126	5,08,40,235	922
West Pakistan	..	3,10,403	4,28,80,378	138

* Including population of Jammu and Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan, Junagadh, Manavadar, and Pakistan enclaves in India.

In East Pakistan, the maximum density of 1,281 persons per square mile is in the Dacca Division, and the minimum, 786 per

square mile, in the Khulna Division. In West Pakistan, the maximum density, 724, is in the Lahore Division and the minimum 77 in Kalat Division.

The density of population is higher in Pakistan than in many other countries and also higher than the average density for Asia as a whole. The area of Pakistan, 3,65,529 square miles, is about 3.5% of the land area of Asia, but in 1961 it had 5.5% of the Continent's population.

(2) HUMAN RESOURCES

Next in importance to natural resources are the quantity and quality of human resources and the environment in which the population of this country has been brought up. In this we also include the religious, social and educational environments, in which the people have been brought up, and their moral values. As far as the quantity of population is concerned, we do not lack in numbers, especially in East Pakistan. As a matter of fact, considering the availability of the natural resources, Pakistan's human resources are much above the optimum limit. We have mentioned in the earlier part, while dealing with the natural resources, how East Wing of the country is very heavily populated. The density of population in some of the rural areas of East Pakistan is almost unprecedented in the world and the land is unable to support this large population. The rate of population growth has been estimated by the Planning Commission at about 2.7% while some other neutral experts would place it somewhere around 3%, which is a very heavy rate of growth indeed and largely neutralizes the vast spending which is being incurred to increase the existing low standard of living of the population. We shall not go into any details regarding the need of population control and family planning as these are rather controversial subjects. We may, however, point out that the best expert opinion is that the rate at which the world population is growing is absolutely frightening and this population explosion will lead to very serious consequences if the rate of growth is not drastically curtailed. In the views of the experts, a growth rate of 3% is most frightening and if the advice of demographic experts was to be followed, they would rather like to see that this growth rate is restricted to around

1%. It is somewhat cruel and cynical to observe that the efforts towards birth control and in decreasing the number of births have been more than neutralized by a heavy fall in death rate and larger longevity due to the use of anti-biotic and life-saving drugs and various types of vitamins. Therefore, the fall in death rate is far more pronounced than the fall in birth rate, with the result that actually there has been an increase in net surviving rate and the population has been fast increasing.

Gone are the days when a mere number of hands was considered an asset. In a simple society it was said that while God has given one mouth to feed, Almighty has given two hands to fill one mouth. Alas those simple days, for better or worse, are no longer there. Nearly a century ago, the famous Austrian economist Bohm-Bowerk observed that the present method of production was not direct but round about and was becoming more and more complex and indirect. Gone are the days when the local cobbler catered for the requirements of the shoes of village population. Now a shoe produced in a modern factory passes at least through 120 different hands and requires very complex machinery in its manufacture. As the enlightenment in labour is growing and the exploitation of workers is very rightly being resisted, the method of production goes on becoming more and more complex requiring more and more expensive machinery and several labour saving devices with the result that while in the good old days a worker could, with the help of another worker, manufacture his own tools locally and start work on his own, now it requires nearly 50,000 rupees to provide work in a modern mill. In more sophisticated type of industries, the amount needed is much larger. In the United States where labour rates are very high and emphasis is laid on more and more labour saving devices, the cost is manyfold more than any other country. Due to adverse climatic factors and poor natural resources, the formation of capital in under-developed countries, many of which until recently were under foreign yoke, and have remained under-developed, is very negligible. It is, therefore, to be seen that a mere quantity of population is not only no asset but is more a liability. If full use is to be made of the numbers, they are to be properly educated and trained. This aspect is very weak in Pakistan. Only 19% of the population is merely able to read and write. And again in this there is a con-

siderable mal-distribution between the urban areas and the rural areas and between males and females, and again between the two wings. In this respect, East Pakistan is much ahead of West Pakistan which conclusively proves that money is not the limiting factor in wider spread of literacy. Since the establishment of Pakistan, the progress made in this direction is quite poor. One can hardly expect better results from progress towards industrialization where only a fraction of the population is mere literates. It is somewhat unfortunate that, in most under-developed countries and especially in Pakistan, the system of education is most defective. It was introduced over a century ago by an alien government to create a petty class of subordinates to help the foreign bureaucracy for performing jobs in the lower strata of administration. As a result in our existing educational system, too much emphasis has been laid on white collar jobs and a certain amount of odium is attached to use one's hands. Jobs requiring manual skills are looked down upon and are considered *infra dig*. As a result, while we have been able to produce top executives, there is a wide gap in the class of foremen and supervisors which form the backbone of any industrial society. It is for the lack of this class that industrialization has not made the necessary headway. Again, people are not only poverty stricken but they are extremely superstitious and are the slaves of the various types of customs and taboos which are largely responsible for their poverty. Three centuries ago same conditions existed in Europe, but as a result of Reformation the hold of clergy, who were responsible for keeping the population in extreme ignorance and thoroughly exploited them to their own advantage, came to an end by a new awakening in religious thought due to Reformation. It is somewhat unfortunate and an irony of fate that Islam, which was the torch bearer of knowledge and awakening, and as far back as 1,400 years ago exhorted the people to go to all ends of the world to seek knowledge, its followers are extremely backward in education all over the world. The earlier Muslim scholars were responsible in preserving the western civilization through their translation of Greek works of learning and by their own original contribution in the field of mathematics, sociology, geography, history, and various other subjects and Islamic civilization which was at its height when Europe was in middle of the Dark Ages. Muslims plunged into darkness when Europe started awakening.

In Pakistan the recent cry of religion in danger and the scandalous differences shown by various leaders of religious thought bewildered people so much that they just debunked them. This is not a very happy state of affairs. What is needed in Pakistan at present is the counterpart of Reformation in the Islamic thought and a strong force of enlightened scholars of religion who are able to show by their own example how the religious teachings of Islam can act as a guiding force for improving the quality of our people, in all walks of life. Islam has never been a religion of monks. ***Qur'an*** puts this world before the next and exhorts Muslims to strive for their world by betterment. Why cannot we have Muslim scholars as industrialists and good sportsmen?

The improvement in quality of large masses of this country is being seriously handicapped by lack of a national language. In this respect the position in West Pakistan is far worse than East Pakistan. Recently a reactionary trend has been gathering momentum. While doubts are being expressed in some important enlightened circles about the comprehensiveness and competence of the ***Urdu*** language to act as a media for instruction in the higher level of teaching, now all of a sudden stress is being laid for the claims of the various provincial languages for consideration as a proper media for teaching upto the highest level. I do not wish to further dwell on this very controversial subject. But I do wish to draw the attention of the nation that it is not a moment too late to put our heads together and to decide at least for West Pakistan as to what should be the principal language for this Wing as a whole for purposes of higher teaching. A decision has also to be taken in regard to the script. The present system of *Nastaleeq*, written by semi-literate *Katibs* by hand, is too antiquated to be used in a modern age. We have to adopt the *Nasq* script as Iran and various Arab countries have done. We have to support the campaign on a gigantic scale to introduce mass literacy and to teach three R's to improve the quality of our population. For this a firm decision has to be taken in regard to script and national language for West Pakistan. East Pakistan is fortunate in having a common language, Bengali, with modern script. This perhaps explains their better literacy rate in spite of lower per capita income.

(3) CAPITAL RESOURCES

In an earlier part, we mentioned that the modern process of production is getting more and more round-about and requires larger and larger capital resources. The need of large capital for development of the economy of a country is equally essential whether a country follows a capitalistic system or a socialistic system or even a communistic system. Russian economy had not made satisfactory progress until it adopted a highly mechanised system of farming which in some ways was far superior and more expensive than the tools and machinery used in the United States.

In Pakistan, there is a lack of capital in both the Wings, though it is more conspicuous in the Eastern Wing. In that Wing, as a result of natural causes, constant floods and cyclones, etc., there has been little formation of capital in the agricultural sector. The formation of capital in the industrial sector has been retarded due to lack of investment in the private sector, owing to the restrictive policies followed in East Pakistan and discouragement to the investment from the Western Wing. In West Pakistan, the progress has been better than East Pakistan but still it has to go a long way to mobilize the required internal financial resources. The main reason for the comparative slackness about capital resources in the country are due to political, social and religious environment, some aspects of which are discussed below.

(4) POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENTS

All these factors play an important part in capital formation. In the absence of political stability, countries, which have abundance of natural resources and are well endowed with human resources, have not been able to mobilize or accumulate enough capital to meet their development requirements. The conspicuous example is that of Latin America. Unless there is a political stability and a strong and responsible representative government exists in a country, capital growth will always be retarded. In other words, political stability, freedom of speech and the freedom of the press combined with a stable responsible government are essential pre-requisites for the formation of the capital. It is

also necessary that maximum possible liberty be given to the economic forces, compatible with the largest good of the largest numbers, to determine their own equilibriums. Economic controls and more so quantitative restrictions and artificial exchange rates retard rather than encourage economic growth. Resort to deficit financing results in inflation, which is the worst enemy of economic development. It must be borne in mind that there are no short cuts on the road to prosperity.

It is somewhat unfortunate that Pakistan has very much lagged behind in these important fields and as a result it has not been able to fully exploit and mobilize the internal resources and accumulate enough capital to develop the country. It is earnestly hoped that now that elections have taken place and two strong political parties have emerged as a result of these free elections for the first time based on adult franchise, it will be possible to mobilize the internal resources of the country far more effectively than was the case in the past. Although political, social and religious factors are equally important for the formation of capital and proper climate for investment, there is an urgent need to strengthen the social sector in the body politic and to give far more attention to the important part which religion can play in a society. Many of the evils in our society are due to the lack of proper religious education and ignoring religious commandments. At present there is far more stress on the dogmas of the religion than its spirit. What is needed in Pakistan at the present moment is a counterpart of the Reformation which took place in the Christian religious thought nearly three centuries ago.

In the light of these observations, we shall now examine some of the problems facing Pakistan.

It must be admitted that Pakistan has made remarkable progress in the economic field during the last twenty three years. Especially, the progress was remarkable during the Second Plan period which was a normal period and when the first Martial Law had overcome the initial difficulties in clearing the economic mess and had built up sufficient resources of foreign exchange to follow liberal import policies. The task of economic rehabilitation was greatly facilitated by the introduction of political stability and the

wise foreign policy followed by Pakistan. Some strain on the economy was noticed during the last two years of the Second Plan when due to large expenditure the prices showed an upward trend. During the first three years of the Second Plan, the price level showed a nominal increase of 4.8% but the increase during the last two years of the plan was more substantial, *viz.*, 7.3%. In spite of this, the position until the end of June 1965 was reasonably good. During this period while the prices as a whole increased by 2.5% per annum the per capita income rose by 2.9% per annum which more than counterbalanced the increase in the price level. But we could have done better if there had been full national support for our development policies. Instead of entrusting the development task to civil servants, we should have employed professional management experts.

However, many developments have taken place since July 1965 which have adversely affected the national economy, though I must hasten to add that many of these were not of our own making. The trouble started with the changed attitude of the United States as a result of which the flow of American economic assistance first came to a standstill and later was provided on a reduced scale. During the first three years of the Third Plan, the total amount of U. S. loans committed was 437 million dollars compared to 690 million dollars during the last three years of the Second Plan. Later, firm figures are not yet available to the public.

Another important adverse factor was the war with India which involved very heavy expenditure during and after the war. This was followed by two years of drought which played havoc with the economy of the country. All these circumstances were beyond our control and no Government would have remained unaffected with such profound changes in the economic situation. We were forced to spend a large amount on our defence which increased from Rs. 123 crore in 1964-65 to Rs. 323 crore in 1967-68. On top of this, in 1967-68 we had to spend about Rs. 44 crore worth of scarce foreign exchange on buying foodstuffs which was unavoidable. In spite of high hopes and strong assurances given by the Government from time to time, the deficit in food grain still continues on a larger scale, especially, in East Pakistan. In 1969-70, 15 lakh tons of foodgrains were imported. Inspite of Government's

loud claim about pronounced increase in food production, the 1970-71 estimated for supply of food to East Pakistan are 17 lakh tons. This has now increased to 30 lakh tons due to floods and cyclones.

LACK OF CHOICE

The mistake that we committed was that we did not face our economic situation realistically. We should have made a choice between butter and gun in view of the shortage of foreign exchange and decrease in foreign economic assistance, and our own limited resources. But we tried to have both butter and guns which was economically not possible. In my view there was no justification for us to stick to the unrealistic physical and financial targets of the Third Five-Year Plan. We tried to live in hopes which had little rational justification in view of the generally adverse climate in the aid-giving countries,with very serious consequences for the economy of the country. The most unfortunate aspect of the situation is that in spite of pronounced failure of the Third Plan to achieve its financial and physical target, we embarked on a far more ambitious and unrealistic Fourth Plan. The present fast deteriorating economic condition of the country and steep rise in price level is just a fore-taste of the much worst situation which we are likely to face, if we do not make quick amends. I shall discuss the weak points in our economy below and suggest necessary remedies.

SOME WEAK POINTS IN OUR ECONOMY

The weakest link in our economic chain is the most vulnerable position of Pak Rupee which has been constantly losing its value in the free markets of the world. In the third week of November, 1962 the Pak Rupee with a par value of Rs. 4.75 per dollar was quoted at Rs. 8.90 in the free market, while the Indian rupee whose par value is now Rs. 7.50 per dollar was quoted at Rs. 9.90 per dollar. On 31st March 1970, it touched the highest peak of Rs. 12 per dollar and now it is in the neigbourhood of Rs. 11 more than twice the official rate.

The second weak link, in my view, is our increasing tendency towards economic control which have been introduced due to the

mess which was created by our planners who wanted to have and eat their own cake, and refused to face the realities of the situation. We failed to benefit from the tragic experience of India as to how their economy was crippled due to ambitious planning resulting in steep increase in price level and all round shortages.

The third weak link in our economic chain which is more political than economic is the credibility gap that at present exists in the public mind regarding the economic policies pursued by some Ministries and Departments. This has seriously undermined the confidence in the policies of the Government and is largely responsible for the present unrest. This has also provided an easy handle to the political parties to exploit the situation.

I am not a destructive critic. I do believe that the last decade has witnessed tremendous progress in the economic field. But there are many things which must be immediately attended to by the national Government both at the Central and Provincial levels. If this is done properly, the situation can be improved. If I may be excused for my frankness, I would like to mention that there appears to be little coordination of the economic policies followed by the Government and that of conflicting and incorrect information has been poured into the President's ears and also into the ears of the public at large. The result is that the Government stands very much discredited due to those mistakes which can easily be corrected. It is earnestly hoped that this aspect will receive proper attention at the hands of future national Governments.

It is suggested that an expert Monetary Commission be appointed to look into the value of Pak Rupee. We have had all sorts of Commissions but none on the most vital aspect of the economy, *viz.*, the monetary side. In this connection, I must emphasize two important points. One is that corruption and economic instability will continue unless the problem of the real value of Pak Rupee is squarely faced. Secondly, devaluation is an antiquated total to improve the situation. I believe the situation can be easily corrected by introducing two rates of exchange, official rate of exchange and a floating rate of exchange. The official exchange should be applied only for the purchase of military hardware (and not normal supplies), repayment of foreign debts and

the import of a very limited number of goods. The floating rate of exchange should be applicable for all other transaction in the foreign sector of the economy. If this suggestion is implemented, the economic situation will improve considerably and the corruption on a vast scale, which is now caused by the present unrealistic exchange rate policy, will be considerably eliminated.

I am quite sure that the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank will have no objection if the new exchange rate policy, suggested above, is implemented, as I have consulted them. I would wish to point out, however, that the main obstacles in accepting my scheme are the unwillingness of the East Pakistan Government to accept it and the opposition which the Scheme will meet from the vested interests in West Pakistan who are entrenched inside and outside the Government and the present exchange rate policy for their own benefit. The Government has also used it as a weapon of political patronage.

I propose that the Fourth Five-Year Plan be thoroughly revised downwards and should be as modest as possible. Our rates of indirect taxation are one of the highest in the world. This is the result of the pressure exerted by the Planning Commission who are the biggest vested interest. Former President Ayub had the right horse sense in pointing out at a meeting of Officers early in 1967 that no fresh taxes should be imposed. But the Ministry of Finance imposed an additional tax of Rs. 7 crore on the pretence of rationalization of taxes. The tax burden has been further increased each year. The worst thing that the Finance Ministry has done is that it has consolidated the Defence Surcharge on customs, excise and sales tax, thereby increasing the general rate of indirect taxes by nearly 30 per cent. I may mention here that the rate of import duties in the ECM countries is about 17% while we have a sales tax on most of the imported goods to the tune of about 20% which is a fantastic rate. There are hardly any worthwhile consumer goods on which an import duty is less than 100% and in addition they pay a sales tax of 29%. The real burden of this is much heavier than 20% as it is levied on the value after the import duty had been levied. On top of this, most of these goods have to be purchased on bonus vouchers at a premium varying from 160 to 190 per cent. There is no wonder that

there is smuggling on such a vast scale. I am of the view that not only the Defence Surcharge be removed but there should be a drastic reduction in the import duties if any relief is to be provided to the middle class. The policies followed by the Government have really crippled the middle class instead of building it up.

HOW TO BRING DOWN THE PRICES OF ESSENTIAL CONSUMER GOODS

I am aware that the President is keenly interested in the welfare of his people and wishes that the lot of the common man be improved and the necessities of life be made available at reasonable prices.

However, I regret to observe that the keen interest of the former President Ayub and now of General Yahya Khan for the economic welfare of the nation is not matched by the practical measures that should be taken to fulfil the objective. For instance, President Ayub was advocating for some considerable time without any success for the introduction of ***nans*** or ***tunduri roti*** in the country which would not only spare our women folk from the drudgery of making ***chapatis***, especially in the burning heat of summer months, but would also result in the disuse of firewood and charcoal and substantial reduction in the market prices of *roti*. Islamic history is replete with examples of destruction of trees for the use as fuel with dire economic consequences. Pakistan can ill-aford this luxury. I would very respectfully submit to President Yahya Khan that the proposed import from the Soviet Union of two plants for this purpose would not solvet he problem in view. The present bureaucratic set-up of the Government is ill-equipped to see the problem as a whole. I have been constantly emphasizing the fact that the success of the scheme for ***nan***-making depends upon the establishment of a factory for the production of yeast which is an essential ingredient for making ***nan*** and other bakery product. My constant requests have fallen on deaf ears.

In this connection, I want to give two more examples of ill-conceived planning in the country. The Rawal Dam was built without provision for the proper pipelines to distribute water to

Rawalpindi. Similarly, a sum of nearly Rs. 50 crore was spent on the construction of Kaptai Dam to provide electricity without making any prior arrangements for laying a network of transmission lines with the result that the electric supply in Chittagong which is the nearest city to Kaptai is most unsatisfactory.

Coming back to the issue under discussion, it is suggested for consideration by the President that he should give a firm directive and set a deadline for the Government to take necessary measures designed to reduce the price of essential commodities. During the last three months (December-February) the situation on the prices front has deteriorated very considerably and the complaints against rising prices have become much louder. This is a very undesirable and even a dangerous situation. The President has been misinformed that the cost of living in Pakistan is one of the lowest in the world. Comparatively the prices of most goods are far lower in London than in Pakistan. If the U.K., in spite of its balance of payments difficulties, does import most of these goods, I find no reason why this cannot be done in Pakistan. The situation is getting from bald to worse. We must, therefore, attend to this problem without detay. I believe that a substantial reduction can be brought about in he prices of essential commodities if President directs that, for the financial year 1970-71, a sum of Rs. 15 crores be earmarked for the import of some of the essential commodities. This is not really a large amount considering the excellent results which this expenditure would yield both economically and politically, and also in view of the fact that the amount would constitute only about 4% of our total visible exports worth Rs. 325 crores.

GOVERNMENT REVENUES

After taking all the factors into consideration, I am of the view that we are living beyond our existing means and are also expecting more funds by way of foreign aid than the exigencies of the situation warrant. In actual fact, there is a great scarcity of Pakistani rupees both in the public and private sectors. In the public sector, the expected revenues are not materialising at the rate at which it was envisaged, while the expenditure in the public sector will have to go up, if some elements of welfare have to be introduced which have been long promised. The performance of the much praised

second Five-Year Plan in the social sector was quite tardy and no tangible improvement is visible in the sector in the Third Plan. The conclusion is quite obvious. We must cut our coat according to the cloth available.

There is a school of thought in the country which is of the view that we should step up mobilisation of our own resources. In certain circles it has been suggested that we should raise more money by taxation. I am afraid, I am not in agreement with this view. My reasons are as follows :

The rates on paper of direct taxation in Pakistan are quite high though not as high as in few other countries. This aspect in the past was studied at some length by various Committees and Commissions set up by the government, and they all came to the conclusion that there was little scope for increasing direct taxes without seriously affecting the investment climate. Against this well-considered opinion the last two budgets have provided for an increase in these rates. In spite of this, our tax collection is comparatively very low. There is a large scale evasion. Ways and means to check this must be found. In my view, there is a considerable scope for bringing down the tax exemption level but perhaps, due to political considerations, this may not be possible. The present exemption limit of Rs. 6,000 keeping the wage level in view is perhaps the highest in the world. For instance, even the lowest paid whole-time employee in the USA or UK is not exempted from tax, while in Pakistan a CSP or Class-I Officer at the beginning of his career is exempted from income tax and a Class II Gazetted Government servant enjoys this exemption for six to seven years. One may have two opinions about the burden of the direct taxes, but the burden of indirect taxes is one of the highest, if not the highest in the world.

It has been suggested in certain circles that in view of the steep increase in the agricultural incomes, there should be considerable scope for the Government's share in this income. I am afraid, this does not appear to me a practical proposition under the present circumstances. When considering this aspect it should not be forgotten that the agriculturist does not benefit from the Export Bonus Scheme and has to bear the brunt of increase in

prices due to bonus imports, the value of which is constantly on the increase. The import policy announced on 10th July 1970 provided a welcome benefit to the agriculturist by allowing 10 per cent bonus on our major agricultural exports compared to 45 per cent given to exporters of manufacturing goods. However, this is a step in the right direction which I have been advocating for the past several years.

I may add that a sales tax of 20 per cent on most of the goods is imposing a serious burden on the consumers. Taken as a whole, that rate is one of the highest in the world. In my view, in regard to most of the articles, we have reached a point of no return in indirect taxes. This impact should be examined in some detail. I may further add that the steep increase in tariff rates combined with most imports on bonus vouchers at a premium of 180 per cent, provides an ideal situation for corruption and smuggling. I am afraid this aspect, which is the constant complaint of the public at large, has not received the attention it deserves.

The Government had laid special emphasis on the creation of a strong middle class in the country. But a substantial increase in indirect taxes and imports on bonus vouchers which have brought about a considerable rise in the prices of many essential consumer goods have resulted in the gradual elimination of the middle class. The recent 12½ or regressive and unequitable price increase is the last straw which will break the back of middle classes. As if this was not enough, a further cyclone tax of 10% has been levied in the second budget and also an increase of one rupee on petrol. The price of petrol in Pakistan is now highest in the world.

The recent rationalization of tariff has been far from satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the consolidation of the high Defence Surcharge of 25 per cent has been a step in the reverse direction for which there is little justification. The very high rates of sales tax also need thorough re-examination. Instead of giving some thought to it, the 1970-71 budget has thoughtlessly consolidated the Defence Surcharge sale tax instead of abolishing it. There is no need for the appointment of a high level Fiscal Commission to re-examine this aspect as has been recently done. This is just waste of time and money. My own view is that the sales tax be

a graduated tax of 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and 10 per cent. As regards import duties, the tariff rates were 23 up in 1965 which were reduced to 13 in 1966 and to 11 in 1967. I propose that these should be simplified and reduced to 4 only in the manner indicated below:

(*a*) *Vital Necessities.* These should be free of duty.

(*b*) *Necessities.* This category should be subject to a duty of 25%.

(*c*) *Comforts.* This category should be subject to a duty of 50%.

(*d*) *Luxuries.* This category should be subject to a duty of 100%. No duty should be higher than 100 per cent. I am quite convinced that these measures will go a long way in reducing the price level.

This in my view will provide considerable relief to the consumers and will result in better tax collection. The need of the country is not more rates, but better collection of the existing taxes. Last but not least, adequate steps should be taken to prevent deficit financing, check inflation, and keep firm control over money supply which during the last three months of 1970 reached unprecedented height showing an increase of Rs. 100 crores in three months compared to the same period in 1969.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
2 February, 1971.

ASLAM SIDDIQI

I FEEL pleasure in bidding you welcome to Sham-i-Hamdard *this afternoon. The speech of our Guest Speaker, Mr. Aslam Siddiqi, will be a most stimulating exercise for the mind and heart as it deals with a subject which bears pressure on the ideas, practices and values of Islam in the modern age.*

Mr. Aslam Siddiqi is eminently versatile in this field having had long training and vast experience in this field abetted by a natural curiosity to know things and a passion for pursuing his sociological and critical analysis into the modern Islamic world. Starting his career as a journalist, he became the Chief Editor of the Orient Press in India in 1945. *Later opted for Pakistan, continuing his journalistic vocation. He became Principal Information Officer in* 1966. *Later he planned and organised the Information Services Academy. He is at present Director of the Academy. He is specially interested in Islam and international affairs. His talent has extended into the field of authorship: 'Pakistan Seeks Security,' 'A Path for Pakistan',* 'Defah-i-Pakistan', *the 'Role of the Military in Asia' claim him for their author.*

The subject of his address today is "Modernisation and the Muslims".

The word "modernisation" has of converse relative overtones. For what was modern or contemporary a thousand years ago, is ancient now. But even so, Pakistan is a remarkable blend of the ancient and the modern.

In the last one hundred fifty years, all the social institutions—in the widest sense—have been deeply affected by the impact of a number of internal and external factors. As a result of these impacts many

of the traditional older institutions have been broken up, many others have been invaded by disturbing innovations, and many new professions have come into existence whose place in and relation to the national society as a whole is still experimental. These changes have been accompanied by new political and social philosophies which are not yet integrated with the deep rooted social ideologies in the Islamic world or with its economic life and potentialities. Both on the physical and on the psychological planes, every social and functional group has been profoundly affected and modernisation has made considerable inroad in Muslim societies.

Islam emphasises the open society, for within the dar-ul-harm *there is no class distinction. Again, the very basis of the juristic structure of Islam is* ijma *(consensus) the modern equivalent. Islam, as a complete code of life, has already formulated an institutional frame work with all the possible checks and balances. It is, however, certain mediaeval-age tendencies and vested interests which have to be removed,* e.g., *the hold of feudalism, parochialism (again, a recrudescence of the prehistoric tribalistic approach), and so on. And, moreover, it has been universally observed, if the institutional politics is either absent or weakly built, progress is equally slow. Technological progress in particular, depends on how we formulate our science policy, how we integrate the public and private sectors, how far intervention by the government is permitted, (in Pakistan scientific research is wholly a government responsibility), how much emphasis we place on the producer goods sector, etc. In order to plan for progress, we must first of all know what we are, what ideals we cherish, what each of us contributes either materially or mentally to the weal of the nation, and so on. In the West, there being no Christian* shariah, *the ethics is legalistic; in Islam the ethical content is religious or—to be more precise—vouchsafed by God through the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). And yet we talk of the separation between religion and state.*

In the West secularism dates from the Renaissance and is a compromise between the Protestant and Catholic factions of Christianity. And yet we try to superimpose an experience that has a vicarious background on ourselves. Having not understood ourselves, we attempt to initiate other peoples' experiences. This I would hardly call modernization; it is, more or less, an unadulterated imitation.



ASLAM SIDDIQUI
(Hakim Mohammed Said is on the right)

Let us be on our guard when we think of modernization. Let us make our factories automated, let us take to computers, let us shift to the producer industry, let us pour forth more and more money into scientific research; let us do this by all means but let us not forget that we have a singularly glorious heritage. Let us blend the so-called modernization with our own cultural genius.

How modernization has affected Muslims and to what extent will be explained to you by our Guest Speaker, Mr. Aslam Siddiqi.

Hakim Mohammed Said

MODERNISATION AND THE MUSLIMS

Aslam Siddiqi

WORDS describe but at times hide the meaning of things. Modernisation is such a word. Its ancestors are Europeanisation and Westernisation. It thus seeks to hide the ugly faces of imperialism, colonialism, Western dominance and exploitation. Slowly it is, however, acquiring a character of its own. Social change is its hallmark and economic growth its major achievement. It is scientific in attitude, materialistic in approach and hedonistic in way of life. Competition is its driving force and the devil takes the hindmost, its rule of conduct. In its dispensation, human personality has no sanctity. A modern society, however, has no fixed model. According to Daniel Lerner, it is a participant society and its members have the capacity of empathy. Empathy is to see oneself in the other fellow's situation. It enables an individual to adjust himself to any environment. This is possible only if the environment can be read rationally and correctly. The choices and possibilities of an individual thus increase tremendously. In such a situation, an individual is what he may become, a society provides his potential. In addition, modern society is participant if it functions by consensus. In making personal decisions on puhlic issues, individuals must concur often enough with other individuals they do not know, so that a stable common governance may function. Such a possibility depends on the degree of urbanisation, literacy, media and political participation of a society. These developments release a man from his insularity and make him participate in a society on the basis of rationality and positive knowledge.

To understand a movement is really to study it in its historical perspective. The various twists and turns in its evolution do bring

out its profundities, tangles and absurdities and thus provide a basis for an objective and maybe correct assessment. It is thus necessary to study European history. During the last five centuries, the Western man acquired the modernist attitude or thoughtway as a result of interplay of ideas and events. A major event was the setting up of a centre of naval studies and expeditions at Sagres by the Portuguese Prince Henry in 1419. It frustrated the Turkish attempt to regulate European trade through the Middle East. More important, it enabled the West, in the words of Toynbee, to "throw a lasso round Islam's neck" through the conquest of the sea. Muslims completely missed the meaning of this naval conquest. In his book, **Asia and Western Dominance,** K. M. Pannikar records:

> "After making the pilgrim ships returning from Mecca, empty of goods, Vasco de Gama prohibited anyone from taking out of the ships any Moor and then ordered them to be set on fire".

About Albuquerque he writes:

> "He spared no Moors wherever he found them. He filled mosques with them and set them on fire".

Such was the punishment for not reading the changing environment correctly! Then came along the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Reformation created a religious vacuum in the Western mind. It was filled by the materialistic and scientific ideas which the Renaissance had encouraged. Religious wars later made religion itself suspect and thus only confirmed the materialistic view of life. At the scientific level, Galileo, Kepler and Newton provided a different view of the universe, and of the place of man in it. Later the industrial revolution started in the 18th century. Mercantilism, *laissez faire* and colonialism were adopted as state or national policies in commerce and politics. The sanctity which religion had conferred on human personality was no longer there and the common man was therefore treated very unjustly. The people then rose to assert their rights and the American, French and Russian revolutions succeeded in winning them in a very materialistic environment. Such were the seminal events and ideas which completely changed the world view of the Western man.

As a result of these developments, the Western man acquired certain characteristics. Before the Renaissance, he had an inhibited mind, confined in a closed environment. Later he gained a deeper appreciation of his past which gave him self-confidence and loosened the hold of authority. He began looking around, studying nature empirically and rationalising empirical facts. He thus discovered a powerful tool which later developed into the scientific method. It opened up the vistas of physical sciences and also of technology. At another level, he studied man and human institutions. This gave birth to social sciences. The fixity of view about man and his roles disappeared. The fulfilment of man became the objective of his efforts. So long as he maintained a balance between empiricism and rationalism, an evolution in human affairs took place. But when this balance was disturbed, revolutions took place in order to alter human institutions closer to human desires.

In the course of this intellectual and industrial evolution, two developments took place. Technology became available as an instrument of industrialisation and economics as an instrument of rationalisation. It is thus necessary to grasp the compulsions of mechanisation. Machines and inventions help exploitation of material resources and economisation of human labour. But they also impose their ways. Machines are made to do certain jobs and therefore they itemise work. Technology must thus evolve systems of application of scientific instruments and knowledge. Problems have to be studied and solved in their details. As efficiency or complication of the product increases, these units multiply and also become smaller. The result is that the overall number of details and, therefore, of problems increases vastly. It takes time to solve them. The first economic consequence is that considerable time separates the initiation of an industrial project and its completion. The second consequence is specialised handling of these numerous details. A large number of experts are needed to undertake a project in production. To coordinate, their efforts demand an elaborate organisation which goes on becoming more and more complicated. Moreover, the experts have to produce results in a way that their efforts fit in. There must not be any legs to hold up the entire operation. This demands plánning. So the chain is itemisation of the task, a large number of experts, a vast organisation and then a coordination plan. This involves large capital which

must remain committed for sufficiently long time so as to allow all these operations produce results. A time lag inevitably occurs between initiation of a project and the final turning out of the product. The product must find a market of which the planners must be sure. So inevitably large capital will be forthcoming only when it is quite sure of success at these various stages. The risk of losing money is thus involved because of uncertain prices in uncertain markets. Who should undertake this risk? For this purpose, two systems have been developed. In one case, the capitalist undertakes the risk and in the other, the state. In addition to this financial safeguard, every modern community has to ensure the smooth working of this industrial organisation at its various stages. For this purpose, different political, economic and social systems have been evolved in the context of different societies. This, in fact, is the problem which Muslims have to solve within the Islamic framework.

For Muslims, economic thought of socialism is important and needs to be briefly stated. Socialism is a child of industrialisation. It may be recalled that the industrial revolution, mercantilism and *laissez faire* brought untold misery to the poor masses. Human conscience was roused. To meet the situation, various measures were suggested by different thinkers who have been described by Marx as Utopian Socialists. Foremost among them were Saint-Simon and Fourier. Saint-Simon suggested productive associations and a project *de travaux* under the aegis of the government. The guiding principle was that the right to property should be rooted entirely in its contribution to the production of social wealth. His disciples further developed his doctrines and advocated abolition of inheritance of property and its eventual transfer to the state. Their slogan was "from each, according to his ability; to each, according to his needs". Fourier championed cooperation and wanted organisation of communities in which production and social life would have cooperative bases. In England, Ricardian Socialists advanced similar ideas and propounded the theory of natural right. Oglivie stood for equal ownership of land and wanted that no man should have land more than he could cultivate. William Thompson advocated the right of labour to the whole produce of labour which alone is the creator of wealth. Thomas Hodgskin advanced the view that so long as the right to property was not founded on principles of justice, there could be neither peace on earth

nor goodwill amongst men. Then arose Fabian Socialists. They were concerned with particular evils and remedial measures and not in the general philosophy. Their emphasis was on efficiency. They were followed by Guild Socialists whose main attack was on human degradation of wage earners and on treatment of labour as a commodity. They advocated industrial democracy which consisted in social ownership of industrial capital and organisation of industry under the control of democratic guilds, formed by workers. Such a course, they were convinced, would bring about political democracy as well.

For Marx, the mode of production is the key to understanding an epoch, its superstructure of ideas, moral sentiments and legal, political and other institutions. The mode of production includes technology and social relationships which are determined mainly by the ownership of the means of production. Marx makes a distinction between labour and the labourer. The finished product is the result of labour which includes the labourer's input and also the help of the means of production, owned by the capitalist. The difference between the wage of the labourer and the price of the finished product is surplus value which the capitalist takes away or expropriates. This expropriation, Marx argues, must produce class consciousness and lead to economic and political organisation of labour. It must also generate tension which leads to class struggle and is according to Marx, the moving force of human history. Moreover, in the capitalistic system, capital tends to accumulate and labour tends to depend more and more heavily on a centralised and impersonal capitalist organisation. Production increases far more rapidly than consumption. Thus industry and market cannot keep pace. Competition leads to over-production which must create from time to time economic crises. The result is widespread unemployment and thus the instability of the status and condition of the labour. In the circumstances, organised labour must rise against the capitalism and overthrow it. To be useful, this overthrow must be followed by transfer of the means of production into social ownership and by organisation of production on a planned basis. This social transformation would end exploitation and class struggle and bring forth a community of active producers enjoying social equality. However, historical change will never cease. Technology must continually keep improving, necessitating

consequent changes in social relationship and organisation. Ultimately when productive powers and moral standards have developed sufficiently, it will be possible to ensure "from each, according to his ability; and to each, according to his needs".

These brief surveys of historical, economic, and technological developments identify the constituents of modernisation. They also offer scope for discovering what Al-Ghazali calls "the profundities and tangles" in the evolution of modernisation which may suggest solutions acceptable to Islam. Modernisation has, however, given great pride of achievement to the Western man and has consequently made the position of Muslims very desperate. Arnold Toynbee writes:

> "The Western civilization is aiming at nothing less than the incorporation of all mankind in a single great society and the control of everything in the earth, air and sea. Islam is once more facing the West, with her back to the wall. But this time, the odds are more heavily against her than they were even at the most critical moment of the crusades; for the West is superior to her, not only in arms, but also in the technique of economic life, on which military science ultimately depends; and above all the spiritual culture".

He also forecasts that the Muslims will become the proletariat of the Western democracy or Russian communism through no free choice of their own, Such are the agents, instruments, opportunities and dangers of modernisation.

Several centuries ago Muslims suffered a collapse, intellectual, economic and social. They closed the door of *Ijtihad* and thus denied themselves the opportunities to bridge the gap that always exists between the ideal and the actual. In a way, they accepted this gap. That meeting of the *Ulema* at Mustansiryah which conferred legitimacy on Halaku Khan is as much of symbolic as of historical importance. In declaring a just infidel *Sultan* to be more excellent than an unjust *Muslim Sultan*, the *Ulema* chose a structure and left the Islamic functions and principles to adjust themselves. Perhaps such an ugly situation demanded that Muslims should stop

thinking. Another way to refuse to face the situation was the emergence of Sufi fraternities. This escape from reality seems to have become a part of the Muslim intellectual legacy. Sir Hamilton Gibb writes:

> "Early Islam, while emphasizing the dominance of the spiritual factors, had recognised the material elements as its instruments; popular Islam now dismissed the material values altogether as devoid of any real existence. The Muslims lived in a world of symbols where nothing is what it seems and words mean something other than what they say. Thus when faced with new challenges, the community lacked both the understanding and the means to meet them. It demanded nothing less than the absolute and refused to compromise its ideal objectives with material activity".

The *Ulema* have thus closed their minds, and when disturbed by the wind of change, they just curse.

The modernists among Muslims are also reacting in the 20th century, just like the *Ulema* reacted at Mustansiryah in the 13th century. They accept modernism and want to adopt modern ways, unmindful of their recoil on Islamic functions and principles For them socialism, dubbed Islamic socialism, is the panacea. But socialism is more than a mere structure for production. In its essence, it is quite opposed to Islam. According to Marx, materialistic environment has a deterministic effect on society and Marxism cannot therefore commit itself to raising the moral standards. It crushes the individual under the state superstructure and an all-pervasive bureaucracy. Individual initiative is lost as also individual personality. Moreover, an over-organised society can at best have an unstable equilibrium. To keep it going, its members have to be coerced into playing their allotted roles. Islam can hardly abdicate its responsibility to the individual and society and agree to an overpowerful state or the Party without any checks.

However, the *Ulema* and the modernists indicate the lines along which response to modernisation must proceed. They are intellectual and social. Fortunately, there are precedents in Islamic history which can act as guides. Al-Ghazali represents the intellec-

tual approach; and Shah Wali Ullah, the social approach. They, however, must not be considered as pillars of boundary line, beyond which modern thinkers cannot go. Such a restriction is just not possible. In the words of Iqbal, "The task before the modern Muslim is to rethink the whole system of Islam without breaking with the past". This is possible only if the concept of knowledge changes and a new approach is developed. Sir Hamilton Gibb's criticism needs consideration. He remarks:

> "For the Muslims knowledge is still what one knows, rather than what one has yet to learn; it is something to be sought and found in books rather than by free inquiry and at the cost of both physical and mental effort. It has no dynamic quality, it lacks power because it is still inorganic, compartmented and atomistic. It is dominated by the idea of authority".

This is generally true. But Al-Ghazali did make both physical and mental effort in his free inquiry and was not dominated by the idea of authority. It is strange that Muslims have not grasped the spirit of his free inquiry nor internalised his method and thought processes. He writes:

> "Ever since I was under twenty (now I am over fifty) I have not ceased to investigate every dogma or belief. No Batinite did I come across, without desiring to investigate his esotericism; no Zahirite, without wishing to acquire the gist of his liberalism; no philosopher, without wanting to learn the essence of his philosophy; no dialectical theologian, without striving to ascertain the object of his dialectics. and theology; no *Sufi*, without trying to delve into the origin of his asceticism; no atheistic *Zindiq*, without groping for the causes of his bold atheism and Zindiquism. Such was the unquenchable thirst of my soul for investigation from the early days of my youth, an instinct and temperament, implanted in me by God through no choice of mine".

So here is the spirit of free inquiry and of making physical and mental effort in its pursuit.

The first element of Al-Ghazali's approach was thus to collect objective information about a problem. He writes:

> "I am convinced that a man cannot grasp what is defective in any science unless he equals its most learned exponents in the appreciation of its fundamental principles and even goes beyond and surpasses them, probing into some of the tangles and profundities which the very professors of the science have neglected. Then and only then is it possible that what he has to assert about its defect is true". The second element of his approach is "methodical doubt".

In *Mizan al-Amal,* he writes:

> "If this discourse had consisted of only that kind of material which caused you to have doubts about the beliefs instilled into you since childhood, so that you were stimulated towards study and research, then that would be a very satisfactory result. For doubt leads to truth. Whoever has no doubts of any kind, does not reflect, and he who does not reflect, cannot see clearly. And he who cannot see clearly, remains in a state of blindness and in error".

So his method was to raise doubts about beliefs and view-points and then correct them through study and research and thus secure certainty about whatever he believed.

It is useful to take note of some of his other observations:

> "A grievous crime indeed against religion has been committed by the man who imagines that Islam is defended by denial of the mathematical sciences, seeing that there is nothing in revealed truth opposed to these sciences by way of either negation or affirmation, and nothing in these sciences opposed to the truth of religion".

Again:

> "There is no contradiction between *Shariah* and reason. Reason without *Shariah* is useless; and without reason, *Shariah*

cannot achieve its objectives. To fall into the pit of *Taqlid* and to be captivated by appearances is stupid indeed".

And again :

> "If we adopt the attitude of abstaining from every truth that the mind of a heretic has apprehended, we should be obliged to abstain from much that is true. We should be obliged to leave aside a great number of verses of the *Qur'an* and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him), and the accounts of early Muslims and all the sayings of philosophers and the mystics".

What does all this add up to? To use a little bit of mathematics, it means that a common frame of reference has got to be discovered before the inferences of one system of knowledge can be examined in terms of another system of knowledge and their correctness or otherwise judged from Islamic viewpoint. Al-Ghazali's problem was rather simple. He was dealing with Muslim philosophers and sects so that a common ground could be discovered from where to fight them back. The problems facing contemporary Muslims are far too many and too great. There is knowledge explosion. Knowledge is believed to double up every five years. The world now produces more than a thousand books a day. An average American, it is estimated, listens to some 11,000 words a day on radio and another 10,000 words on television plus the accompanying visuals. He reads between ten to twenty thousand words a day. In the United States, the annual consumption of paper per person is 300 pounds; in Asia, it is nine pounds only. The non-American, however, cannot stay behind for too long. The real problem thus is how to find the information required on a particular topic and ignore the rest. This is being managed through a revolution in communications. In addition to other technological devices, the computers, combined with communication satellites, open vast possibilities. The authors of **The Farther Vision** speculate :

> "In addition to telephony, telegraphy and radio and television signals, satellites will permit facsimile and data transmission in a subscriber's home. The sum total of man's knowledge could be stored and readily retrieved on instantaneous recall

by any scholar anywhere on earth. Libraries for browsing are likely to be replaced by research centres where a computer can store, search and retrieve data electronically with incredible speed".

This revolution in communications and explosion in knowledge present various challenges. Muslim modernists have to follow Al-Ghazali and find accommodation between the framework of new knowledge and the framework of Islam. Through acceptance, adaptation and rejection, some compromise might emerge. Otherwise, modernism will recoil on Islamic functions and principles with disastrous results. In place of Sufism, the modernists may inject materialism and hendonism among Muslims. Already there are evidence of this iniection. It is useful to keep in mind the warning of the Russian philosopher Chaadaev. He writes:

"In borrowing another culture, we become like illegitimate children without a patrimony. Our memory does not go beyond yesterday; we are, so to speak, strangers to ourselves. We do not pursue a course of development from within, we do not progress naturally. Since we only receive ready-made ideas, there are not formed in our brains those permanent paths which make possible a gradual development. We grow but do not mature, we move forward but in a directionless line. We are like children who have not been taught to think for themselves; in the period of their maturity it becomes evident that they have nothing of their own, that all that they know lies on the surface of their being, that their soul is outside them.... Consequently we are all lacking ir confidence, method, logic".

The danger to a community in borrowing ready-made ideas from a different culture is thus very great indeed.

The *Ulema* cannot take an innocent view of the situation. Society is under attack of modernisation, both from inside and outside. A sort of dissonance has seized the Muslims. In pursuit of pragmatic ways, essential beliefs and even principles are ignored. The position, in fact, is as described by Al-Ghazali :

"The glass of naive beliefs is broken. This is a breakage which cannot be mended, a breakage not to be repaired by patching or by assembling of fragments. The glass must be melted once again in the furnace for a new start, and out of it another vessel formed".

The furnace is the present sick Islamic society. It is necessary to understand social imperatives in order to respond meaningfully. As members of a "single *ummah*", the Muslims have a community of interests and objectives. A community lives in a society which has to implement Islamic principles in its environment. To do so, a number of functions have to be performed for which a society has to evolve structures. For a society, therefore, the three elements in their order of priority are principles, functions and structures. Principles form the most stable part of it and can hardly be altered. Functions are less stable than principles and are subject to change in the context of the contemporary environment. Of the three, structures are least stable and may change substantially under the impact of social forces.

However carefully well-defined the functions may be, they cannot completely implement the principles. Certain areas are always left out or are inadequately covered because of human limitations. There is thus functional lag which introduces dysfunctions in a society. Similarly structures suffer from the same handicap of inadequacy which inevitably introduce dystructures. The working of a society is thus twice removed from its principles. So long as principles are respected, functions and structures go on adjusting themselves. But if structures are considered sacrosanct, principles and functions have to adjust to structures. In early Islam, there were occasions when structures were modified or discarded in the interest of principles. The Prophet and Abu Bakr had been paying stipends to certain Arab chiefs in order to "reconcile their hearts". 'Umar stopped these stipends because he considered that the need for "conciliation of hearts" had lapsed. 'Umar's social legislation was, in a way, intended to discover, discard or modify structures in order to better perform functions, necessary for the implementation of Islamic principles. It must, however, be emphasized that society is a process. Under the impact of various forces, it is constantly involved in social change which a community

has to absorb. Society thus, in the words of Duncan Mitchell, "demands a system of recruitment, values and their transmission from one generation to another, some means of enforcement and discipline withal a facility for inspiring individual members to an extent that they are willing to subordinate their individual and sectional interests of maintaining that which is essentially human, namely their social world". Muslims have to ensure that under the impact of modernisation their social world does not become a fake world. To ensure this, social system has to be handled creatively and perceptively.

One such effort was made by Shah Wali Ullah. He gave considerable attention to society and Muslims must try to understand the spirit of his approach. In one of his books, he remarks that structures can be different in different communities although they follow the same principles and perform the same functions. "For instance", he remarks, "he who is satisfied with the beating of the drum and music for announcement of marriage, has solemnised marriage. Similarly he who considers it necessary to have witnesses and go through the procedure of offer and acceptance, has also contracted marriage. The real function of marriage is to reserve a woman for a man". He adds :

> "The fact of the matter is that all people are agreed upon the principles of social functions. Dissensions arise in respect of different structural forms. This is a general principle which applies to other functions and structures as well".

In *Hujjat Ullah al Balegha*, he remarks that social injustice creates an imbalance and instability in society. He points out that concentration of wealth leads to extravagance and tyranny of a few, and to a miserable plight of others who have to toil like animals and lose social virtues. Productive work is then hindered, economic health is lost, and social virtues become impossible to practise. Poor people are left no time to think of God and the Hereafter. In the light of this argument, it can be inferred that when society becomes imbalanced or corrupt, religion is jeopardised. Society should therefore be right in the focus of attention of all those who seek to understand the impact of modernisation on the Muslims and escape its adverse effects.

There are, however, immediate problems. Muslims are at present changing over from the traditional to the modern ways. In the transitional stage, old beliefs and values are shaken and new ones are hard to acquire Gaps thus emerge between beliefs and actions which under social stress and strain lead to alienation. Alienation, according to Eric Fromm, is that condition when man "does not experience himself as an active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an impoverished thing dependent on power outside of himself". It takes various forms. Individuals may find themselves unable to influence the situations in which they interact and thus develop social apathy. They may feel that they have no guides for conduct or belief and thus may act irresponsibly and in defiance of social norms. They may feel that illegitimate means are required to achieve goals and thus inject corruption, bribery and other evils in society. They may feel estrangement from the cultural goals of society and may defy all forms of discipline and social constraints. They may find themselves unable to participate in self-rewarding activities and may develop negative attitudes.

These developments in European history under the impact of industrialisation were noticed and formed the subject matter of various books. Le Bon's **The Crowd** (1895) brings out the salient aspects of the crowd and group behaviour and describes the irresponsible and destructive ways in which the crowd generally behaves. It is mainly concerned with the social consequences of which a major one is "the substitution of the unconscious action of the crowds for the conscious activities of the individuals".

This leads to social and even individual lack of responsibility. In his book, **The Revolt of the Masses** (1934), J Ortega Gasset elaborates the political consequences of "the coming of the masses" and explains that the reason "why the masses intervene in every thing and why their intervention is solely by violence", is that "they lack morality, a consciousness of service and obligation".

In his book, **The True Believer** (1951), Eric Hoffer carries the study of the mass man further. He devotes great attention to the nature of mass movements and finds that the "true believer" is the power behind them. The true believer is a "fanatic who is compelled to join a cause, any cause, and if necessary, to sacrifice his life for

his beliefs". He is everywhere on the march and both by converting and antagonising the people, he is shaping the world in his own image. This fanaticism, Hoffer remarks, arises from frustration, poverty and boredom.

William Kornhauser has brought together and defined the political consequences of this process of social alienation and of throwing up of crowds, masses and fanatics in his book **The Politics of Mass Society** (1959). He explains that the mass man is highly conscious of his separation from others; and from his own self-alienated attitude heightens his susceptibility to mass appeals. He points out that if popular rule is introduced suddenly in a society, previously subject to autocratic rule, it is likely to engender mass movements which may subvert society itself. Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation involve the uprooting of large numbers of people and if they join the existing organisations, they become more vulnerable to capture by mass-oriented elites. He points out that mass movements recruit people from all major social strata and especially from free lance intellectuals, young people, students, politically apathetic people, unskilled workers, the unemployed small businessmen, poorer farmers and other socially alienated persons.

Such are the products of modernisation who have to be accommodated in society. To do so, it has to be very liberal and broad minded. Islam has a viewpoint on the organisation of a community. In sociological terms, it favours an escalation model of community. In this model, a subsystem is constituted in the community which performs all vital functions. The *Qur'an* says :

> "And there may spring from you a group who invite to goodness and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful".
> (III : 102).

There is urgent need for such a group to emerge and to define good and right conduct in contemporary terms. That certainly does no violence to Islamic values. It only exposes limitations of old definitions and conformations which were evolved in different environments. Such a group or thinking minority is expected to eliminate obstacles in the functioning of the community and dovetail

contributions of other subsystems in order to achieve overall social stability. All these subsystems have to keep pace, of course, with margins of departure. There is always the danger of a subsystem over or under-performing its functions in terms of the expectations of other subsystems, thus resulting in a maladjustment and even disintegration of community. In Islamic history, such groups were formed by Imam Abu Hanifah and also by Emperor Aurangzeb in order to codify the Islamic law. At present, such groups have to emerge in numbers in order to tackle the numerous problems in the context of modernisation. It must be emphasized that society is composed of an infinite number of variables and any social problem can be solved only through systems analysis of institutions in the related fields. For instance, the problem of concentration of wealth has to be studied in the wider perspective of *Zakat*, *Sadaqat*, right to property, bank interest and other financial institutions, keeping in mind the requirements of economic development. Only through systems analysis of problems, carried out by experts in various sciences, can Muslim knowledge escape being "inorganic, compartmented and atomistic" and acquire dynamism and power. Such basic research is imperative for any nation which enters the technological age. The nation which refuses to do so will certainly be bypassed by history. At best, it may stay as a slum of the world whose disappearance will not matter.

> "And the heaven and the earth wept not for them, nor were they reprieved". (XLV:29).

Here we may recall Al-Ghazali's advice that experts comprising such groups must equal the most learned exponents of the various sciences in the appreciation of the fundamental principles and even go beyond and surpass them, pushing into some of the tangles and profundities which the very professors of the sciences have neglected. Muslims have thus to produce such experts not only in economics, social sciences and technology but also in other sciences, relevant to modernisation. The present brain drain from Pakistan is hardly a way to meet the challenges of modernisation. A respect for the individual has to be developed. It is the self-concentrated individuals wrestling in their loneliness with the great challenges who may find their way out through the modern labyrinths. In its own interest, society has to be indulgent to them. Social life should,

therefore, be organised on broad liberal bases. A number of institutions should be set up so that such individuals continue expressing themselves in various fields. It is the sacred right of self-expression that is most important for society and must be preserved and exercised. Great periods of nations are periods of great debates. They remove differences, change opinions into convictions and later into steadfast faith.

In early seventeenth century, the Flemish diplomat Busberq wrote :

> "It is always the way of Turks, whenever they come into possession of a man of uncommonly good parts, to rejoice and be exceedingly glad as though they had found a pearl of great price. And in bringing out all that is there in him, they leave nothing undone that labour and thought can do".

Let Muslims revive this excellent Turkish practice and stop losing their promising sons to the West or to internal intrigue. It is an uncommon man indeed who can pierce through the accidentals of the situations and discover the universal principles. To discourage or lose such an individual is indeed a social crime. Society must patronise the self-concentrated individual who refuses to be crushed down by worn-out ideas and insists on thinking afresh. A favourable climate can perhaps be created by the various Pakistan Foundations. They may combine to set up a centre to study the problems of modernisation on lines which may escape the routinisation of Government departments and Universities and prove as effective as the naval centre at Sagres.

The present is not so much a crisis of Islam as of Muslim intellectuals who are not proving equal to the task. Closed or vacant minds are no equipment for the purpose. To hug to bosom "fragments of the broken glass of naive beliefs" is suicidal. To be content with mere borrowing of alien structures is to betray the cause of Islam. Both the *Ulema* and the modernists must develop empathy on the basis of rationality and positive knowledge and become participant in the present sick Islamic society. They can neither reject it nor overthrow it. They must appreciate one another's viewpoint, reach consensus and adjust themselves to the social en-

vironment. A theology of social change has to be developed within the framework of Islam. Muslims have shirked this creative work. They evaded such problems even in the days of Usman, with disastrous consequences. Concentration of wealth then took place and Abu Zar Ghaffari's protests went unheeded. Later Ali, distributed the entire wealth in the *Bait-ul-Mal* among the people of Medina. Finally, the problem was solved at the political and not at the financial level. This in fact was no solution. Pakistan is adopting the same attitude of mind even today and the result will probably be the same. In the present circumstances, some more constructive attitude has to be adopted. The modernists have to plead for modern structures while the *Ulema* have to press for Islamic principles. With sincerity of purpose on both sides, some meeting ground may be discovered somewhere in the sphere of social functions. It does demand hard, sustained, creative thinking and a flexibility of approach. Such a course alone holds out the hope of socially stabilising and intellectually integrating the Muslims. To quote Daniel Lerner :

> "Social change operates through persons and places. Either individuals and their environment modernise together, or modernisation leads elsewhere than intended".

This landing elsewhere than intended through the failure of individuals will be tragic indeed. It will not need Portuguese admirals to set on fire pilgrim ships and mosques, filled with Moors. The community will be consumed through internal combustion.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
2 March, 1971

WADOOD AHMAD JILANI

WE are a nation twenty three years old. In this long period of trial and error, of construction and national reconstruction, we are inclined to question ourselves what are the positive steps taken to promote health of the nation and education of the people of Pakistan. The answer, my friends, is a sorry one. In the education sphere, the kind of education achieved is not calculated to inspire or guide and is not in keeping with our national aspirations and ideology. In the health sphere the situation is even more tragic. Indifference and lack of concern characterises our attitude to health. Only last month a Health of the Nation Conference was organized by the Institute of Health and Tibbi Research and the Hamdard National Foundation under the guidance of National Health Committee. Nearly 100 ministers of health and secretaries of health of the world sent their good wishes and congratulations, but that of the Health Minister of Pakistan was woefully lacking. So was Pakistan conspicuously absent in the health exhibition, held during the Conference, of health education material sent by 60 different countries of the world.

This is an indication of the importance we attach to the health of our people.

Let me cite another example of our lack of concern for health and social welfare. Many of the housing societies, like P.E.C.H.S. in Karachi for example, make provision for playgrounds and recreation facilities in planning, but in actuality the luxury edifices of the mighty rich spring up on the sites earmarked for recreation grounds. And the citizens of tomorrow are forced to play in traffic-ridden streets or wilt on their doorsteps for lack of playing space. A very personal experience of mine goes to prove to what extent this indifference to the recreational needs of our young people can be stretched. I had the honour to select a site for a children's park with library in Karachi, with the substantial contribution of an oil company in Karachi in return for a small parcel of land for a petrol service station, the

plans were to materialise. But fate in the shape of a politician stepped in. He got the land allotted in his name, sold it to the selfsame oil company, pocketed 3 lakh rupees and left the young people longings and regrets. Schools and Colleges have no playgrounds because business constructions on available ground take precedence.

Somebody said that the battle of Waterloo was won on Eton's playing fields. I do not know how far it is true. But sports and recreation do give a sense of physical fitness and mental discipline, themselves ingredients that make for success.

In other countries recreation has assumed tremendous importance in the life of the nation. It is being increasingly interwoven into the network of educational and social activities on which the development of personality depends. The body physique is built up to the best advantage and a sense of physical well-being is created. On the other hand the social and educational values such as equal opportunities for all, recognition of mutual rights, order, obedience, self-denial, discipline, co-operation, and team spirit resulting from recreation cannot be over-estimated. At the same time mental growth and health are stimulated and qualities such as initiative, alertness, mental ability and foresight are gained. Thus recreation resulting in a healthy body and a healthy mind, is a tremendous being for the health of the nation.

Social welfare contributes to that social well-being of the nation where people are raised above a minimum standard of living to a position where they may purchase adequate medical care, education, training and other services. It deals with special groups of population such as infant and child health and welfare, school health, health of expectant mothers, welfare of deprived children, care of the aged and infirm, welfare of handicapped and disabled persons, care of defectives and psychotics, health and welfare of industrial workers, food hygiene, general sanitation and housing.

We have small agencies dedicated to the welfare of different groups. How far do social welfare and recreation cater to the health of the nation. The answer will be given by Mr. Wadood Ahmed Jilani, Assistant Chief, National Commission on Manpower and Edu-



WADOOD AHMED JILANI

cation, Planning Division, Government of Pakistan. It is a pleasure to have him as our Guest Speaker today.

He is a trained social worker, and although building-society movement is his life-work, he has not limited himself to a narrow range of activities. In connection with social welfare he has visited many distant countries, attended meetings and congresses, represented Pakistan in Symposia and Seminars, is connected with different Social Welfare and Social Workers' Associations, national and international, and is a leading authority on aspects of social welfare in Pakistan. He arranges Universal Children's Day in Pakistan and participates in radio and television discussions on different literary, social welfare and cultural topics. His versatile mind and experience will make today's evening equally stimulating and instructive.

Hakim Mohammed Said

SOCIAL WELFARE AND RECREATION FOR THE HEALTH OF THE NATION

Wadood Ahmad Jilani

THE subject of my talk this evening is: "Social Welfare and Recreation for the Health of the Nation". For an economist and a planner, health of the nation may not be as important as the economy of the country, but for a socio-economist, a social scientist and a 'citizen', health of the nation is the most important sector for development. Every one of us and particularly the august assembly of intellectuals in this sophisticated hall must be quite familiar with the words socio-economist and social scientists but many of us shudder to be conversant with the real meaning of the word 'citizen' and its implications. We, as citizens of Pakistan, have assembled here being good citizens of Pakistan in response to the invitation of Hakim Said who, as a good citizen, has created an institution in the shape of *Sham-i-Hamdard* to exchange ideas, disseminate knowledge and information and learn about things of national importance so that we could play our role more effectively and in a better way to serve ourselves and our nation. That is the object of our being here but is it an end in itself or is it the beginning of the chapter of citizenship. I would say it is actually the beginning. Since whatever we talk and discuss here gives us thought to appraise and evaluate what we have to do and what we have done. Mere listening or talking does not end the concept of citizenship. We have to do something concrete by way of developing a healthy nation, healthy in physique, healthy in mind and healthy in character. How a good citizen has to behave and what role the intelligentsia or the better-off members of the society have to play to organise the community to behave as good citizenry, covers the concept of social welfare. It is, therefore, true to say that social welfare is not a charity or luxury but it is a service which is needed by a rich as well as a poor man equally. It is a technique to change the attitude of

the people to behave as good and responsible citizens of the country.

Referring back to my earlier remarks about our responsibility I meant to say that we are really good citizens if we are rendering some sort of service to our fellow-beings first in our official capacity by rendering our job quite honestly and efficiently, secondly, by sparing some moments of our leisure for serving the humanity at large without any prejudice of cast, creed, colour or religion: thirdly utilize our leisure for our mental, moral and physical development. The first and the second duties of a free citizen enumerated just now are social work and the third is recreation, and all the three are necessary or I must say pre-requisite to the Health of the Nation.

Don't be disappointed on my presentation of simple statements without quoting theories of the international experts on these themes. I did not like to bother you with the jugglery of professional phraseology. Being a regular visitor to *Sham-i-Hamdard* and passing through an exercise of consuming a series of scholarly talks and lectures by a galaxy of experts in their subjects during the last few months, I decided not to inflict a heavy speech on you and also spare myself of searching quotations from the books in my library on social welfare and recreation. Instead, I wanted to give you a light review of things I have experienced and seen in my capacity as a voluntary social worker.

Comming back to the three faces of a citizen mentioned by me earlier, I would like to elaborate them further.

How to render service to our fellow-citizens in our official capacity is not difficult to understand but it is really difficult to act and difficult to achieve. If a Government official carries out his work honestly, sincerely, efficiently in an impartial, unprejudiced and objective manner, he is really a good citizen and rendering social service to the community. This would definitely lead to a healthy society since it will minimise chances of corruption, nepotism and favouritism, will give a confidence to the clients, *i.e.* citizens coming in contact with such an official, will enable lot of saving in time, money and energy, will save fatigue of the official

and the citizen and in fact will bring about healthy and contended society prepared for the economic development of the country.

The role which health of the nation can play in economic growth needs some elucidation. Savings and savings alone is the only way by which a country like ours, can accelerate production and cause economic development. Attitude of an official is like a contagious disease. If he is a right type of citizen and behaves in a manner mentioned above, he will cause a change in the attitude of the people in cycle and thus will be instrumental in developing a healthy society which will work for the economic development of the country.

Now comes up the role of a business man, an industrialist and a banker and the staff employed by them. What service can they render to their fellow-citizens. They can do a lot. Patriotism and religion must be the scale to indicate what legitimate benefits and profits they are permitted to make. They should decide these questions themselves very sincerely, seriously and honestly. A business-man can behave as a good citizen by not resorting to illegal-unlawful and harmful practices, like hoarding, black-marketing and adulteration and by treating his customers and consumers in the same way as a good official is supposed to do with his clients. He is then doing social work for the health of the nation and playing his role efficiently even in his business.

Similarly, an industrialist or a manufacturer can behave as a good citizen by not lowering down the standards in manufacturing, blending, processing and finishing of products. A banker might behave nicely by not misusing the deposits of the citizens for his own gains and by allowing them the fruits of their savings and reinvestments.

Every member of the society, in other words, if infused with the idea of making his job a social service, will carry out his responsibilities in the spirit of serving the humanity. In some societies this attitude is traditional but not practised universally. In the Muslim society, so long as religious influence dominated the lives of Muslims this attitude of service to humanity prevailed in general. But with the continuously weakening of religious influence, this attitude is degenerating.

To preserve and generate the Islamic ideology based on human dignity, fraternity and fellow-feeling ordained on us by Allah and the Holy Prophet (peace be on him), organised effort to introduce social service is very necessary. For this purpose, social policy and social planning have to come from the Government and the intelligentsia of this country, have to play a very important role to carry out these policies. Whatever meagre social welfare work has been done at the Government level, that has been supplemented by private social welfare agencies. However, much more now has to be done by the private sector keeping in mind the meagre resources of the country. Here comes the role of a citizen to devote some portion of his leisure for rendering service to his fellow being. It can be done in an individual capacity and it can be done in a group. In our individual capacity, we can help a needy family by looking after the education of their children or by arranging medical facilities or improving sanitary or hygienic conditions prevailing around their homes.

The other way would be to form a group of like-thinking people and to make a community council or social welfare society. In this case, the members living in a *Mohallah* or a locality will be able to help themselves and the needy persons by pooling down the resources and utilising them in the best way possible. They would be able to render succour and assistance to the physically, financially and mentally handicapped members in their community by organizing the services within their own community with the cooperation of the public and private agencies involved or to make use of the services available outside their locality. Rendering of social service, to me, is binding on every citizen for the health of the nation. Unless every one of us is satisfied that he has received his due share from the Government, from the society and from his neighbour, no medicine can cure his illness and no disease could be diagnosed. Mal-treatment of a person at the hands of his employer in the office or the factory and mal-treatment by the conductor or co-passenger in a bus might retaliate in the shape of mal-treatment to his wife and children and so on and might multiply mental mal-adjustment and mental ills leading to moral and physical ills and disabilities. I would not bother you by illustrating all kinds of ills or presenting various situations. But you will appreciate how the

health of the nation is dependent on the provision of social welfare services.

In the modern world, we need technicians to man all the sectors of life. To build a house, we need an architect, an engineer, a mason, a carpenter, a black-smith and so on. For the treatment of a sick person, we need a doctor, a clinic, a hospital, a nurse and other para-medical staff. For changing the attitudes of the people, we need a social scientist, a social planner, a social worker and most important of them a voluntary social worker. For achieving this end, we need a social policy—either contained in the Constitution of a country or declared by the Government. That enables us to fix up our priorities, to achieve our objectives and to reach our goals. Social services can only develop if they are based on patriotism or religion. For that purpose it is necessary that whatever we do, we should not forget that our religion and our country demand us to render this service. To serve humanity is purely Islamic ideology. We should, therefore, remember all the time that whatever we are doing we are doing for Pakistan and humanity at large. That is the key to our progress, to our prosperity and to lead us to the apex of development.

I have so far touched two aspects of citizenship, firstly to do service in official capacity, *i.e.* on the job, secondly to spare some time for social service out of our leisure. Now I come to the third duty, *i.e.* to utilise leisure for mental, moral and physical development of one's ownself, his family and the society at large—for the overall health of the nation.

What is Recreation? Recreation means any leisure time activity which contributes to the physical, mental or moral development of the individual or group participating therein and includes any activity in the fields of music, drama, arts, handicrafts, science, literature, nature study, athletics and informal play. Recreation is the enrichment of living through the constructive use of leisure. Recreation may stimulate the imagination and creative capacity, encourage fine artistic or physical skills, develop one's ability to understand and appreciate natural beauty, provide social recognition and acceptance, help relieve the tensions and fatigue of fast-paced living, provide the balance, humour and spirit in a family group

making life more meaningful. This is not merely beautiful phraseology but every word of it has proved the truth by experimentation. What more we need for the health of the nation if we could organise recreational activities in a systematic and planned manner.

Proper utilization of leisure in an organised and planned way is recreation. Leisure, if utilised in an unplanned way might be harmful to the individual and the society. For instance, children of a community falling in bad company might become delinquents by smoking cigarettes, by coming into contact with pick-pockets, or resort to stealing and commit minor crimes. Adults finding no recreational facilities might be going to commercial clubs and might become alcohol addicts. So far as social welfare is concerned, it is now accepted as a national policy, although its magnitude is no comparison to the need both at public and private level and is inadequate for the health of the nation. But recreational facilities and amenities and recreation as such is not even much talked about in this country. What we have got is sports and games and those also are available to a negligible number of school-going children.

During the last two decades, we have discouraged many of the recreational activities which aimed at the mental, moral and physical development of the citizens. Isn't it a fact that games like ***kabaddi***, wrestling, kite flying, puppet shows; events like chorus singing by men and women; folk dances and folk music; outings like fine days during the rainy season at the schools and by groups and so many other traditional events are almost vanishing and instead, other expensive and health-ruining commercial recreational activities are on the increase.

I have not dilated much on social welfare, as said earlier, since this subject has been talked about frequently. But I feel I must emphasise that recreation for the health of the nation is more important than the social welfare services, if recreation is not considered part of social welfare.

A glimpse into the history of recreation shows that ancient Persia was one of the first historically recorded civilizations to use play and recreational activities, deliberately and in planned fashion, for the children and youth of the country. The ancient Greek civili-

zation also used play and recreational pursuits to accomplish rather clearly defined social ends—to prepare strong bodies as well as the qualities which the children and the youth would need in their future career, *i.e.* obedience, courage, endurance, self-sufficiency and reliance, unswerving loyalty and team work. About recreation, surplus energy theory is perhaps the oldest and the simplest one. This view asserted that play activity occurs because the organism has energy stored up or left over from work activity. When the amount of extra energy stored up reaches the super-charge stage there is a literal 'blowing off' of steam. This suggests that play and other recreational activity is aimless in nature—undirected release of muscular energy.

This shows clearly that for bringing up the children to become responsible citizens of tomorrow, provision of proper recreational facilities and activities is badly needed. We should not forget that the forms of play and the discipline inculcated during recreation activities influences the behaviour of citizens in general.

It is commonly agreed that education and recreation are both equally important as both aim at developing the personality of the individual to the optimum so that he may participate effectively in the privileges and responsibilities of the society.

Recreation alone can give us the right type of citizens to shoulder the responsibilities of tomorrow. If we are not going to give right type of recreation to our children today, we must be prepared to face tomorrow very serious social problem like juvenile delinquency and shall be blamed by future generations. Civilizations have been built or destroyed through the use or misuse of recreation.

Patriotism gives us the sense of responsibility or we can say that sense of responsibility inculcates patriotism but in any way we need patriotism and sense of responsibility both to do something for others in addition to thank the Creator according to the discipline of the religion or the code of life we believe and practise. Islam in itself is a complete code of life. Fifty-one per cent of our life is supposed to be dedicated to the service of humanity and for helping the needy according to our mental, moral, physical and financial limitations.

What can we really do about providing social welfare and recreational activities in our society for the health of the nation?

Here is an example in the form of the evenings organised by Hamdard Foundation. We get only one opportunity during a month to sit together. Here we renew old acquaintances, make new friends, hear about the subjects we are interested in, carry new ideas and thoughts to our homes and offices or places of business, have a change and relaxation from the monotony of life and after all have tea and refreshment. But, we must admit the benefits of this institution, the *Sham-i-Hamdard*, are limited to a sophisticated group of citizens according to the limitations of the Foundation. But to this small group, this activity is social service and a recreation and combined with tea and refreshment provides nutrition and all the three together are essentials for the health of the nation.

What we can do about multiplying these activities in our individual positions and in our groups and agencies is the expansion of social services and creation of recreational activities on a large scale.

Here I have a suggestion for Hakim Said Sahib and his Hamdard Foundation. They can launch a movement of 'national recreation' by organising children recreation centres, and recreational clubs for the youth and adults aimed at the mental, moral and physical development of the participants. Self-help is the key to all the social welfare activities. Participation of the clients, according to their capacities, would always be the motto of these activities.

It is also time that Government frames a national recreational policy to avoid the social and cultural degeneration taking place. In the absence of any declared policy and the machinery to evolve patterns of recreation based on our tradition and values, the youth of today has every right to copy the forms of recreational pursuits being followed by the so-called progressive societies.

Just to suggest a pattern of recreational activity in a new township like Islamabad to meet the needs of recreation and social welfare for the health of the nation, I would have liked to see a Directorate of Social Welfare and Recreation at the Capital Development Au-

thority along with all the other directorates functioning at the moment. A town of 75,000 souls needs a number of recreational centres where the children, youth, adults and old people may spend their leisure and get rid of the monotony of life. Expensive clubs are no answer to the provision of recreation to the common man. What we need is creation of planned and supervised recreational activities like sports, games and athletics under trained leadership, which can encourage involvement of a large clientele in the activity and a much larger clientele in participation as appreciators. Involvement of 22 players in a football match, can attract thousands of people as appreciators. But this has to be organised. To open children recreation centres in different sectors of a town like Islamabad can draw hundreds of them for activities like sports and athletics, music and drama, nature study, hobbies, etc. A display of a mass band at Shakarparian regularly or casually can persuade the citizens to come out to Shakarparian and witness and appreciate the music if it is played in a planned and supervised way. With a little bit of planning, this town must be humming up with recreational activity.

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DR. DETLEV H. KHALID

IT gives me much pleasure to welcome you all to Sham-i-Hamdard *this afternoon. In the pageant of personalities who enabled Muslim India to recover from the loss of political power, some names stand out prominently. Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi is one of them.*

As we all know, the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent were materially supine and intellectually frustrated after the Mutiny of 1857. *Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi is one of those post-Mutiny remarkable personalities who, besides possessing very wide scholarship, was also endowed with depth of thought, foresight, and acumen. He was one of those leaders who suffered, in many ways, untold tribulations. It is a strange coincidence indeed that the speech in which Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi proposed the division of the Sub-continent, the Potwar Valley was offered as the capital of the Islamic region. In* 1957 *the former President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, appointed a Commission headed by the present President of Pakistan, General A. M. Yahya Khan, to suggest the site for a capital of Pakistan. This Commission either consciously or unconsciously endorsed the original suggestion of Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi and Islamabad is now the Capital of Pakistan.*

Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi was born into a Sikh family of the Punjab, but was as fervent a Muslim as any one can be. He passed a great part of his life in Delhi, the former United Province (now Uttar Pradesh), and Sind. I count myself as one of those privileged to have had the occasion of meeting the Maulana when he was the guest of the late Dr. Zakir Hussain at the Jamia Millia and know at first hand the train of thoughts and ideas that flew from his intellect. He spent eighteen years in Afghanistan, Turkey, Russia, and Hijaz. During this period he observed and studied and cultivated his analytical and inductive capacity to the full. When he visited Russia, the latter was embarking on socialist experiment. In Turkey it was secularizaion by Mustapha Kamal Pasha that he saw. When he returned

to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, he found that the python of Hindu nationalism under the leadership of Gandhiji was all set to devour all the non-Hindu communities of the Sub-continent and the hiss of its threats and intent could be heard everywhere.

The Maulana, therefore, as an observer of this complex situation pondered over the problem and came out with his own observations and suggestions as to the well-being of the Muslims of the Sub-continent and their future. The system which the Maulana visualized was compounded of several streams of thought—communism, welfare, egalitarianism, the irridentism of Mustapha Kamal, and the concept of a unified community in the Sub-continent, as postulated by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. This resulted in a rather uneven theory which the Maulana presented with considerable emphasis, informality, and ingenuousness, and to which he attached the approval of Hazrat Shah Valiullah. He desired that the Muslims of the Sub-continent, instead of hating Europe, should organize themselves economically and materially. He wanted the solar hat to be the headgear. He opposed the sacrifice of cow, of the various fiqhs, *he wanted the supremacy of the* Hanafi fiqh. *The reason which he cited in favour of the* Hanafi fiqh *was rather novel. According to his investigations, Imam Abu Hanifa's ancestors had migrated from India and, therefore, the Imam was also an Indian, and, therefore, the* Hanafi fiqh *should prevail in the Sub-continent.*

Thus, the ideas of the Maulana with regard to the future course of development—both spiritual and material—were odd and could not gain wide acceptance. But, despite this fact, the Maulana's scholarship, dedication, and love for his community are beyond doubt. What he thought to be correct and beneficial for Muslims he expressed without any equivocation.

All his life, he fought against oppression and repression. He held that the revelation of the Holy Qur'an *was to perpetuate a universal revolution. He set his eyes on a single peak and worked undeviatingly towards it, and exhorted other Muslims to do so. He was of the view that the passion of revolution motivates and develops the self on an individual and enables him to carry out the struggle in life without any fear. In this way, he adopts a new pattern of life abandoning the old traditions.*



DR. DETLEV H. KHALID

Maulana Ubaydullah never compromised on principles, even if he had to struggle hard to uphold them. The element of initiative and personal choice, between the forces of good and evil are apparent at every point. He believed that it is incumbent on the individual to seek new d.mensions for betterment of self and the society he lives in.

Perhaps we also can draw lessons and inspiration from Maulana Ubaydullah's life.

The survey and analysis of the Maulana's intellectual evolution is a very interesting chapter in the history of our development and I am extremely happy to welcome in our midst Dr. Detlev Khalid who has chosen this topic for discourse in today's Sham-i-Hamdard.

Dr. Khalid is a Reader in the Islamic Research Centre at Islamabad. One of our most erudite scholars he is passionately interested in the history of Muslim India and the birth of Pakistan.

Dr. Detlev Khalid has a very interesting childhood and education. Born into a Moroccan Berber family, he was educated mainly in Germany and Spain. He was imprisoned in France for his work for the National Liberation Front of Algeria, which time he spent profitably in learning French. From 1961 *to* 1964 *he worked as the Founder-President of the Muslim Community Organisation in Germany and Secretary of Islamic Centre in Berlin. In* 1964-1965 *he was a student of the renowned Orientalist, Professor Anne Marie Schimmel, and under her supervision he translated short stories by Qurratul Ayn Haydar from* Urdu *into German. In* 1967 *he received his Ph. D. in Islamic Studies from Berlin, his thesis "The Quest for Muslim Identity", has now appeared in Arabic, Bengali, English and* Urdu.

In 1968 *he joined the Islamic Research Institute on invitation from the Pakistan Government and now teaches German and French at the Institute. Besides his research work on Ubaydullah Sindhi, he contributes articles at national and international journals. He regards Pakistan not as a second home only but as a real Muslim homeland in the true sense.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

'UBAYD-ALLAH SINDHI AND MUSLIM NATIONALISM

Dr. Detlev H. Khalid

'UBAYD-Alláh Sindhī was born in 1872 in a village in the district of Sialkot in a middle class family. His father, Ram Singh, was originally a Hindu, who had married into a Sikh family. While studying in the third grade, the boy ran away from home because he wanted to embrace Islam which he did in 1887. His relatives naturally pursued him with the aim of bringing him back to the fold of Sikhism. Therefore, he escaped to Sindh where he found shelter with the head of a Muslim mystical order. It is because of having found this refuge in Sindh that he adopted the surname Sindhi. When later on he started to correspond with his mother, she finally came to stay with her lost prodigy. But she never ceased reproaching him of having abandoned the religion of his elders.

The name 'Ubayd-Allah he adopted in gratitude to the author of a book written by the earlier Sikh convert to Islam who had taken on the Muslim name 'Ubayd-Alláh. It was this booklet in praise of Islam which prompted the Sikh middle school student to follow the example of his co-religionist and to turn a Muslim at the tender age of 16.

In 1888, he went to Deoband. After some time of studying and teaching he became politically active under the patronage of an illustrious scholar personality, Mahmúd al-Hasan, commonly known as Shaykh al-Hind. 'Ubayd-Alláh helped organising an association which later developed into the important religio-political body called Jamī'yat 'Ulamá'-e-Hind. Muslim learning was at that time centered in two institutions that were deeply antagonistic to each other. One was the liberal modernising 'Aligarh University,

the other was Deoband, the seat of Muslim classical lore and traditionalism. Under instructions of the Shaykh al-Hind, 'Ubayd-Alláh was instrumental in bringing about a rapprochement between the hostile camps. A society was founded to bring about harmony between Deoband and 'Aligarh. In the course of this work, 'Ubayd-Alláh was introduced to such stalwarts of Muslim emancipation as Muhammad 'Alï Jawhar, Abúl Kalám Azád, Nawáb Waqár al-Mulk, and Dr. Mukhtár Ansárï.[1]

In Delhi, 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî used his well-attended religious classes in the Fatehpuri mosque to disseminate anti-imperialist thought among the young Muslim intelligentsia. Soon the school was closed and the preacher taken into temporary custody by His Britannic Majesty's police. While he was in the midst of such revolutionary activities, he received orders from his spiritual guide and political leader, the Shaykh al-Hind, to leave secretly for Afghanistan where he stayed for seven years. His reaching Kabul coincided with the arrival of delegation of the Indian National Committee from Germany. The association of Indian revolutionaries in Europe was actively supported by the Foreign Office in Berlin. This mission to Kabul was led by Raja Mahindra Pratáb and Mawlwî Barkat-Alláh. However, the Hindu and Muslim delegates soon fell apart because the Hindus kept on asserting the right of the majority community to express the aspirations of the whole of India. Naturally, this assumption was vehemently rejected by the Muslims with 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî as their spokesman. Finally, however, they created what a historian has called "a political toy", namely the Provisional Government of India in Kabul.[2] The accomplishments of this short-lived Exile Government were absolutely nil, but in 1922, during the reign of Amîr Amán-Alláh Khán,'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî set up a branch of the All India National Congress in Kabul. In his memoirs Sindhi observes: "This was the first branch of the Congress outside the boundaries of the British Empire, and I am proud to say that I was its first President".[3] About a year later, in November 1922, he left Afghanistan and went to Soviet Russia as a guest of the Communist Party.

The anti-imperialist stance of the Muslim scholar from the Sub-continent was well-known to the Soviet Government. They provided him with whatever facilities Russia could offer in those

difficult years of turmoil that followed in the wake of the glorious October Revolution of 1917. 'Ubayd-Alláh never learned any European language, and, therefore, he did not have direct access to the study of socialism. His young companions from the Sub-continent learnt Russian and underwent a regular ideological indoctrination. It was only through them that Sindhî got acquainted with Marxism and they too can probably not have learned much during the short period he was with them[4]. For, after seven months of hardships in starving Russia, 'Ubayd-Alláh proceeded to Turkey where he stayed for almost four years. Those were years of experience in nationalism in a Muslim land. Sindhi's pan-Islamism was considerably toned down under the impact of Atatúrk's reforms.

This notwithstanding, when in 1927, a World Muslim Congress was held in Mecca, he made an effort to participate in it. He went from Turkey via Italy to Arabia. However, he reached too late. Nevertheless, he decided to stay on and spent the following 12 years in the Holy City. There he lived a rather quiet life as a student and as a teacher. He occupied himself mainly with the study of the Holy Scripture. His close associate during many of these years was Mùsá Jár-Alláh from Russia, a prominent Tatar reformer. Sindhî dictated to him his commentary to the Holy *Qur'an*[5]. It is an interesting feature of 'Ubayd-Alláh's life that none of his several books was written by himself. They were all dictated to one or the other of his disciples. This fact renders a correct assessment of his thought somewhat cumbersome and a certain scepticism with regard to his intellectual achievements is not out of place. But then we know that one of the four most important works of Arab literature is *Al-Amálî li l-Qálî*—the dictations of the Moroccan Berber Al-Qálî. So Sindhi is not the only instance of a well-known author who hardly ever took a pen into his hand.

Finally, 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî was allowed to return to India where he arrived in 1939, that is to say, after 24 years' absence from the political and intellectual scene of his beloved homeland. From now on most of his time was devoted to lecture tours, preaching his Muslim compatriots the gospel of liberal reformism[6].

Sindhî was always very much alert to the fact that any new idea, and be it only one of bourgeois liberalism, was bound to encounter

fierce opposition from the Muslim intelligentsia that was by then still deeply steeped in the obscurantism of medieval feudalism. He had before him the example of his Imám, his spiritual model, Sháh Walîy-Alláh of Delhi. Sháh Walîy-Alláh, the 18th century Muslim reform thinker, was a prolific writer[7]. Nevertheless, Sindhî points out time and again that Sháh Walîy-Alláh could just not come out with the whole truth because then time was not yet ripe to receive it. It must be mentioned that actually an attempt was made on the life of Sháh Walîy-Alláh by some, what might be called in sophisticated English 'orthodox divines' or, in the plainer language of today 'reactionary Mawlwis'. So according to Sindhî, Sháh Walîy-Alláh, not unlike Lord Jesus, had many more things to say to his disciples which they, however, could not yet bear. Most of you will be familiar with the Biblical story when Jesus bade farewell to his followers by telling them:

> "I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. When the Spirit of truth comes he will guide you into all the truth...The Counsellor, the Holy Ghost...he will teach all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you." (John 14-16)

Now 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî assumes for himself the role of that Spirit who is to come and to teach the whole truth of Sháh Wálîy-Alláh. In fact, he says that now the time of keeping mum on so many key issues is over and he promises to launch full broadsides on the obscurantists: To make this clear let me quote a few lines in the original language from his book, **The Philosophy of Sháh Walîy-Allah**. In *Sháh Wálîy-Alláh aur unka Falsafa*, Sindhî writes:

,, لیکن اب تو زمانہ بدل گیا۔ بادشاہوں کا دور کبھی کا ختم ہوچکا۔ ہم شاہ پرستی کے عہد سے بہت آگے نکل چکے ہیں۔ ظاہر ہے اب اس زمانے میں اور ان حالات میں کیا ضرورت ہے اور کونسا امر اس بات کا متقاضی ہے کہ شاہ صاحب کی طرح میں بھی اسلام کی اجتماعی تحریک نمایاں کرنے میں تامل کروں۔ اب ان کمزور طاقتوں کی رعایت کرنا اور ان کو گزند پہنچنے کے ڈر سے اپنی بات نہ کہنا میرے نزدیک ایک بے کار سی چیز ہے۔ میں نے اپنی زندگی کا یہ مقصد بنالیا ہے کہ شاہ ولی اللہ صاحب کی اصلی تعلیم کو بے نقاب کرکے علی الاعلان تمام نوع انسانی کے سامنے پیش کروں ''۔[8]

But then again it has to be admitted that by adopting Sháh Walîy-Alláh as his spiritual and intellectual guide Sindhî practically turns him into a quasi-Mahdiy.[9] On a purely rational plane he refutes the whole idea of Mahdism.[10] In fact he uses an argumentation similar to that of Ibn Khaldún and Iqbál who rejected the concept of a *Messia* or *Mahdîy* as a remnant of pre-Islamic magian thought.[11] On the other hand Sindhî adopts, consciously or unconsciously, certain characteristics of Messianism. Indeed he follows in the footsteps of his Imám, Sháh Walìy-Alláh, by hinting occasionally at certain hidden truths he feels he cannot come out with. True to the Messianic or Mahdist idea there always remains something to be said, something that is to be unveiled by someone to come, some 'anointed one' or *Imám-Mahdîy* or some other such Holy Ghost.

Nevertheless, let us see how Sindhî takes up the thread of Sháh Walîy-Alláh. Here I should like to draw a parallel to an Egyptian contemporary of Sindhî. I mean the renowned historian Ahmad Amîn. Amîn was deeply inclined towards mysticism, in fact he was member of a *Sùfî* order. This notwithstanding, he renovated and popularised the *Mu'tazila*, a rationalist school of Muslim thought[12]. Similarly 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî became the interpreter and chief propagator of Sháh Walîy-Alláhism. This Sháh Wáliy-Alláhism of his can be classified as a reform movement in which *Sùfi* concepts, *i.e.*, elements of mysticism are blended with a fairly radical rationalism.

However, in the context of Muslim nationalism we are mainly interested in the way Sháh Walîy-Alláh conceived of Islam as a polity. What were his views about the origin of the Muslim community? This is an issue that has led to heated disputes among Muslim thinkers, especially since the Egyptian scholar 'Alî 'Abd al-Ráziq wrote his controversial thesis in which he tried to prove that the early Muslim community was of a purely religious and non-political character[13]. Now, while delineating the views of Sháh Walîy-Alláh on this subject, I would like to follow a truly Pakistani practice. I mean, I would like to illustrate my point by quoting Allama Iqbál. In his main prose work, **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,** Iqbal has summed up Sháh Wálîy-Alláh's thought in a very precise manner. He writes:

"The prophetic method of teaching, according to Sháh Walíy-Alláh, is that, generally speaking, the law revealed by a Prophet takes especial notice of the habits, ways, and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent. The Prophet, who aims at all-embracing principles, however, can neither reveal different principles for different peoples, nor leaves them to work out their own rules of conduct. His method is to train one particular people and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal Shari'at."[14]

Now this nucleus theory has led 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî to a view of history that bears a certain originality. His theory, as will consequently be seen, is rather controversial. He divides Muslim history into five major phases and compares the development of Islam as a polity to that of Socialism.

At the outset his theory sounds rather very traditional. Like most conservative Muslim writers he speaks about the initial phase of Islam as the proverbial 'golden age'. *Al-khiláfat al-rashida*, "the rightly guided Caliphate" was the period during which the example was set for establishing a community on the principles of the *Qur'an*. The predominantly apologetic writers of 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî's time, and even many authors before and after him, hold the opinion that this initial 'ideal period' of Islam has no parallel in history. No later epoch can ever equal it in the glory of righteousness, piety, and zeal. 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî faithfully follows this romanticist trend. But coming to the second phase, that of the much maligned Umayyad dynasty he adopts a somewhat novel stand. He takes up the cudgels for the Umayyads by calling their period that of realism. They had to make amendments in the Prophet's heritage so as to consolidate the achievements of the Islamic revolution.[15]

Most of you are well acquainted with the theory of *'asabíya* as enunciated by the North African sociologist Ibn Khaldùn. *'Asabíya'* is sometimes roughly translated as **group instinct** or **partisanship** or still better as **esprit de corps** as the French would say.[16] On the basis of this *'asabíya* theory 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî maintains that the preservation of the revolutionary system could not be guaranteed

except through concessions to the national sentiments of the nucleus people, *i.e.*, the Arabs and in particular their main clan, the *Quráysh* of Mecca. The energy and drive of this main clan had to be fully utilised before the inevitable degeneration set in. After that other people were to take over, Iranians succeeding Arabs, and Turks succeeding Iranians. These fresh elements had then in turn to use their '*asabíya* or group-instinct to further expand and consolidate the new order. Thus with the Persianised 'Abbási regime, especially with the Caliph Ma'mùn, begins the third phase in Islamic history. [17]

The period of the first two Caliphs, Abù Bakr and 'Umar, is, indirectly, likened to that of Lenin, although it has to be pointed out that 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî cautiously emphasised that this is not meant as a comparison but merely as a means of illustration.[18] He sees Stalin's function as similar to that of the Caliph Mu'àwiya because from a realistic point of view the removal of Trotsky was a necessary sacrifice. The system had to survive in at least Russia so that she may form the nucleus for the later expansion which isn ot possible except after proper consolidation at the base. Equally inescapable, according to 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhi, was the tragic liquidation of 'Ali and his party because they insisted on an impracticable internationalism. Here Sindhî distinguishes religious or cultural internationalism, of which he approves, from political internationalism. The political internationalism of 'Ali, he holds, endangered the stabilisation of the revolutionary order. The civil war between the parties of Bāni Umayya and Báni Hashim has been bewailed for centuries by Muslims of almost all trends and schools. Sindhî views it as a natural phenomenon in the process of healthy progress. The victory fell to the party that stood for what he considers commonsense. It ensured further growth and made possible the gradual realization of the kind of internationalism that is the real aim of Islam, *viz.*, unity of thought which is to bind all mankind together in a common humanitarian sentiment.[19] This true internationalism of Islam, Sindhî says, was never abandoned. The Umayyads did not allow it to degenerate into politics and thus provided an opportunity for concentrating on its real objective. To underline the argument Sindhî asserts emphatically that for a certain period the Arabs held complete political supremacy. But even during that period the leaders of thought and particularly

of religious life were almost exclusively non-Arabs.[20] Damascus became the seat of political administration, which was Arab and national. Medina, however, remained the centre of religious learning, which was Muslim and international.[21]

Let us continue the perusal of Sindhī's view of Islamic history. He regards the establishment of several Muslim dynasties independent of each other as a sound development. This is a view shared by a number of modern Muslim historians, foremost by the pioneer Aḥmad Amīn. He was not blind to the grand cultural diversification that resulted from the creation of numerous capitals.[22] Sindhī's rather original way of illustration is continued by equating the Caliphate with the Comintern. Both fulfilled their role only for a brief period, continued as mere names afterwards and were finally effaced.[23]

The fifth phase of Islamic history, according to Sindhī, started after World War I in the form of independent Muslim nation-states. All of them would ultimately be republics and eventually form a sort of confederation.[24]

"The great question, however," as raised by Dr. Faḍl al-Raḥmān, "is whether and how far, after these nations have established themselves as so many independent selfhoods, they will allow themselves to be welded into a larger unity." Dr. Faḍl al-Raḥmān goes on to say that this is "undoubtedly the cherished hope of the modernist as opposed to the secularist."[25]

The problem here is to keep the balance between the assertion of national identity and the establishment of international solidarity. There is hardly any modern thinker who has glorified this task so much as the Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset. In this ideal of his he believed to find an expression of European enlightenment. Ortega y Gasset speaks about the equilibrium of powers as a reality which is essential for the existence of a plurality of nations. "If this plurality is lost", he says, "then that dynamic unity will vanish. Europe," he asserts, "is in fact a swarm of bees: many bees on a single flight. This unitarian character of the magnificent European plurality is what I would like to call the good homogeneity, which is fertile and desirable".[26]

This dynamic conception of European realities stands in interesting contrast to Iqbál's view who said about Martin Luther:

> "His revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of the universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into mutually ill-adjusted many."[27]

I am not sure if Iqbál was aware that this view of his was characteristic of a rather short-lived school of German literature, the Romanticists. Like the poet of the East they could not conceive of the national outlook but as conflicting with the humanist one. This led them to dream of the medieval Christian Empire as one of harmony. A number of those writers even converted to Catholicism. In their eyes Catholicism stood for universalism, which is of course true in the literal sense of the two words, which can be regarded as synonyms.

Iqbál correctly speaks of the notion of country as one that finds expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines. His greatness is that despite all his romanticist antipathy against this notion he admits that it is, as he says, "a more realistic foundation."[28]

Ortega y Gasset, on the other hand calls his own dynamic concept of plurality and unity in diversity **una idea tan acrobatica,** *i.e.*, "a highly acrobatic idea." It is acrobatic, he writes, because it renders necessary an unflagging frisking from the affirmation of plurality to the recognition of unity, and vice versa—**de la afirmacion de la pluralidad al reconocimiento de la unidad, y viceversa**.[29]

With the Spaniard the connotation of acrobatic is of course purely positive, meaning nothing short of 'sublime art'. It implies challenge and response. For a better understanding of what Ortega y Gasset wants to convey comparison, again, could be drawn to verse by Iqbál, expressing very much the same spirit:

رفیقش گفت اے یار خرد مند　　اگر خواهی حیات اندر خطر زی
دما دم خیشتن را بر فسان زن　　زتیغ پاک گوهر تیز تر زی
خطر تاب و توان را امتحان است
عیار ممکنات جسم و جان است

Ortega y Gasset speaks about his ideal of unity in diversity in contradistinction to what he calls "the mule-headed souls born to live under **las perpetuas tiranias de Oriente** (the perpetual tyrannies of the Orient).[31] This is certainly a wrong notion of the European philosopher, based on a lack of factual knowledge about Eastern thinkers. Among them it is certainly not only 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî who ventures into intellectual acrobatics. Such acrobatics, in English, we might better call it 'mental dexterity', is a prerequisite to progress, and courageous thought can be met with wherever progress takes place. The example of Iqbál's pushing verses has just been cited and there are few who would call him an altogether retrogressive thinker. Besides, the procedure of Sindhî is admittedly the modern fruit of Sháh Waliy-Alláh's cardinal principle, *viz.*, *tatbíq*. This Arabic word stands for adaptation as well as for adjustment and accommodation. With Sháh Waliy-Allàh, and concomitantly with Sindhî, the term *tatbíq* denotes **reconciliation** of seemingly divergent ideas.[32] It is used interchangeably with the word *tawāfuq* which again means agreement and conformity. Jorg Kremer is one of present-day Germany's leading scholars of Islam. Referring to al-Ghazali, Kremer speaks of "the almost unlimited capability to amalgamate contrasts".[33] The German orientalist calls this an essential aspect of the characteristic Muslim individuality.

Accordingly, 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî advocates the establishment of modern national states on the soil of what were formerly multinational structure of various larger Muslim empires. But he relentlessly stresses the universalist sentiment which nourishes the concept of a cosmopolitan government. In his Arabic commentary to the Glorious *Qur'án*, he even says :

> "Our Prophet had a specific aim and that was the establishment of a strong government which unites nations on the basis of the faith in one God. It should be so strong that no other government in the world can oppose it".[34]

Iqbál had demanded the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in India, since it meant, as he said "for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it".[35] Similarly, the typically Islamic "acceptance of opposed ideas and mediation between them"[36] enabled 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî to perform a dexterous act of balancing. On the one hand he fought what has been called "the shadow of Arab hegemony of the earlier centuries of Islam".[37] On the other hand he re-evaluated the much-blamed Caliph Mu'áwīya. He averred that after the government of the first four "rightly guided Caliphs" he considered the national rule of the Umayyad Arabs as the best government in history, because it did in fact uplift other subdued nations.

"قریش کی اس حکومت کو اگر سیاسی اعتبار سے جانچا جائے تو
وہ انسانیت کے لیے ایک نمونہ کی حکومت ہے۔ قریش کی اموی خلافت
کے دوران میں نو مسلم ایرانیوں میں سیاسی شعور پیدا ہوا۔ عباسی
آئے تو اسلامی ایران ان کے ساتھ مل کر حکومت کا کام سیکھنے لگا۔ اس
طرح خلفائے عباسیہ نے ایرانیوں کو حکومت کے لئے تیار کردیا۔"[38]

The hopping between the affirmation of plurality and the recognition of unity reaches its climax in Sindhî's dealing with the Mu'tazila school of thought. He regards the Mu'tazila as a break-through of Iranian mentality against which the Arabs agitated in the guise of orthodoxy. The Mu'tazila taught that the words of the Glorious *Qur'án* were not eternal like God. The words of the *Qur'án* were not like the **logos** which in the Christian belief is with God and simultaneously is God Himself. The Mu'tazila believed that the words of the *Qur'án* were rather created by God at a certain moment. This rational tenet the Arabs could not tolerate, Sindhî holds, because the Arabic language was the only remaining symbol of their supremacy. No other sign of strength was left with them, so they insisted on the divinity of their language.[39] But, he emphasises, until the day of judgment, mankind shall have to remain grateful to the Arabs for having set the golden standards of the social implementation of Qur'ánic teachings.[40]

We all know from history that movements of a typically cultural nationalism have occasionally carved out large areas of the ***dár-al-Islám.*** Such were mostly movements of revolt against the

supremacy of Arab culture which acted, or pretended to act, as the representative of the prophetic tradition. This was very much so with the case of the Berbers in North Africa. At other instances, such movements of cultural nationalism tried to insert their ideas and their spokesmen into the framework and the minds of the bearers of the ruling Arab culture. But they left intact both its continuity and its sense of identity. This was the case especially with the Iranians under the 'Abbásis. Often a compromise was attained between the local of nationalistic tradition or movement and the universal or Islamic one. In such cases the rebels would not go in for political independence or cultural **apartheid**. Rather they would seek leadership in a multinational state or a pluralistic *Umma Muḥammadíya.*

National states have been in existence within the domain of Islam for many a century. This notwithstanding, there seems to exist a consensus among many orthodox leaders of the last three or four generations to consider nationalism, within Islam, a scourge unknown prior to Western expansion and interference with the *dár al-Islâm.* Thus Dr. Faḍl al-Raḥmán, a former Director of the Islamic Research Institute, writes:

> "This primitive 'nationalism' comes to be formulated as a political ideology and is transformed into a nation-state claiming sovereignty and demanding paramount loyalty. It is this political concept, as it has developed in the modern West, when carried to its logical extremes, must conflict with the ideals of Islam".[41]

Now we would hold that there can hardly be any sincere Muslim anywhere in the world who is not intent upon maintaining the unity of the faith. The problem is, as has just been shown, that for many the unity of the faith is seen to be contingent on the political oneness of the religious community and made visible in the oneness of the law. They overlook that this idea is in conflict with historical fact. As already said, at various times in the past nationalistic movements have disrupted the political unity of Islam while often leaving intact the religious and cultural oneness of the Muslim community. It is against this orthodox background that we can fully appreciate the realistic stance of men like 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhí. Inspite of his

madrasah education, he was able to perceive that the unity of the Muslim world has long ceased to be political. This unity is, as one Western observer said, "based on the reality of a religious, and the conviction of a cultural tie among the 'believing' nations or groups."[42]

For r Muslim scholar steeped in the traditional lore, it is certainly a significant intellectual achievement to realise, as 'Ubayd-Allâh Sindhî did, that nationalism refers to the social movements and attitudes which characterise the behaviour of "nationalities engaged in the struggle to achieve, maintain, or enhance their position in the world."[43]

'Ubayd-Allâh Sindhî was basically a scholar of theology who emerged as a champion of nationalism. Again, in the Muslim world this is by no means a rare phenomenon. In fact, we find numerous leading nationalist figures of the same type in Indonesia as well as in West Africa. There is, **e.g.** 'Allâl al-Fâsî, the leader of the Moroccan independence movement. With your permission I would like to quote a few lines from his book **Self-Criticism** (*Al-Naqd al-Dhâtî*) which highlight his sober vision of an integrated nationalism :

ومن حسن حظ الاسلام ان كانت له المرونه" الكافيه" التى جعلته يتمشى مع سير الاله" النفسيه" للشعوب التى اعتنقته• و هكذا نجد فى العالم الاسلامى تغايرا فى طبائع الجماعات المسلمه" وفقا لطبيعه" الارض التى تسكن بها ، و ان ما يتراءى من هذا التغاير الملموس ينتهى فى باطنه كله لهذا النموذج النفسى الاسلامى حتى فى بعض الاوقات التى تبدو فيه تلك المغايرة تناقضا مع الروح الاسلاميه" لمن لم يسترب آلى اعماق الاشياء. انه ليس هنالک فى الاسلام فرق ان هو واحد غير متعدد ، و لكن هنالك صهر محلى للفكر الاسلامى و تكييفه شكليا بالاسلوب الخاص ، او بعبارة اوضع ان الاسلام نجح فى انتزاع النموذج المظلم و احلال النموذج الاسلامى محله فى نفوس شعوبه دون ان يهتم بتغيير ما تحافظ عليه من مظاهر وجودها ، تارکا للاتحاد بين نموذجه و بين الارض و اجواء العصر التى يتجدد معها ذلک النموذج تتميم التصوير و التكييف لعالمه الجديد .

'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî is certainly far less sophisticated than 'Allál al-Fási, nevertheless he comes quite close to him in the contents of his thought. Thus for Sindhî the denial of nationalism means the denial of human nature. He considers it wrong to regard the division of Muslims into nationalities as opposed to the unity of the universal Muslim community. To establish a harmonious combination of nationalism and internationalism and to keep the balance between the two is not only useful for that nation but it is also beneficial for entire mankind. The eternal truths of this human conscience should permeate the demands of the age and the requirements of national life in such a way that there be complete harmony between the part and the whole. The progress of the part would bring about the advancement of the whole. The history of Islam and its great personalities belong to all Muslims alike. Nevertheless, says Sindhî, man generally finds the things nearest to him easier to understand. For the sake of Islam's progress, he asserts, it is incumbent to recognize the existence of various nationalities. The greatest service to Islam would be the spread of its universal teachings through the medium of the different languages of those nationalities.[45]

Here we find him stress the principle of unity in diversity. This aspiration of the Deobandi *'alim* differs strikingly from the finding of Montgomery Watt, a renowned Western critic of Islam. Montgomery Watt discusses the Muslim's insistence on keeping the *Qur'án* in Arabic, even when it has to be recited in worship by those who know no Arabic. He points out that this contrasts with the translation of the Bible into every language. "Christianity may thus be said to stand for a policy of integration without an insistence on uniformity." According to Montgomery Watt, "its ideal is more that of unity in diversity, whereas Islam tends towards an ideal of uniformity, at least in theory."[46]

This finding is contradicted at least partly, by the translation of the Glorious *Qur'án* into Persian by Sháh Waliy-Alláh. This work, and subsequent translations into *Urdu* by members of the movement, enabled Sindhî to look back at a real tradition of unity in diversity and he did so with tenacity.[47] In this context, reference has to be made to his enthusiasm about the division of Muslim law into several schools. Most reformers and modernists rather aspired

to put an end to these differences. Sindhî, however, preferred variety in the bunch of flowers that constitute the international Muslim community. He wanted for each largeı grouping its own, so to say, national school of law—for the Near East the Sháfi'i law, for North West Africa the Máliki one, for Arabia the Hanbali etc. This is little more than a recognition of an established practice. It becomes interesting only with his insistence on Hanafi law, which he calls an 'Aryan' school, as the sole and exclusive national interpretation for the Muslims of the Sub-continent. Similarly, he wants Sháh Waliy-Alláh, the most prominent thinker of Islam in the Indian environment, to be recognized as the national *Imam*. There is a somewhat peculiar reason for this headstrong persistence. According to 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî's own narration he suffered immensely after going abroad and discovering over there that the Indian Muslims were strangers not only to others but even to themselves.[48] Afghans, Iranians, Turks, and Arabs enjoyed the pride and satisfaction of reviewing their more or less well-defined role in the past and present history of the community. Not so the Indian Muslims.[49] They tended to completely neglect their own glorious contribution to Islam and to derive their self-assurance only from a construed identification with the Arab period of history and the Arab interpretation of Islam. To do away with this agonising mental paralysis of the Indian Muslims, became one of Sindhî's main concern. Accordingly he writes:

"ہندوستانی مسلمانوں کے اس مرض کا علاج ہماری سمجھ میں اس طرح ہوسکتا ہے کہ وہ دین اسلام کو سمجھنا اور اس کی تعلیم کے معاملے میں اپنے ہاں کے ہندوستانی آئمہ پر اعتماد کرنا سیکھیں[50]۔

"چنانچہ ایک ہندوستانی مسلمان کے لیے اس فکر کے زیر اثر سب سے پہلے تو خود اپنے ملک میں ترقی کرنے کا خیال پیدا ہوگا۔ اور یہ چیز اس کے نزدیک پہلے درجے پر ہوگی اور دوسری چیز یعنی مسلمان قوموں کے ساتھ مل کر ترقی کرنے کی فکر دوسرے درجے پر آجائے گی۔ ہماری رائے میں آج ہندوستانی مسلمانوں کے لیے صرف یہی ایک راہ نجات ہے۔........... اور اسی بناء پر ہم شاہ ولی‌اللہ صاحب کی شخصیت پر اتنا زور دیتے ہیں، اور ہندوستانیوں میں ان کے علوم کا تعارف کرانے میں اس قدر کوشاں ہیں"۔[51]

Here I take the liberty for bringing back to your memory a few lines by Iqbál which express a very similar view. In fact, these lines were quoted by my friend, Professor Khwaja Masud, at the *Sham-i-Hamdard* function of last month. Iqbàl emphasizes that:

> "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolical overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonized by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration."[52]

Let me now come to another aspect of 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî's life and thought, I mean the socialist element. The relationship of this refreshing ingredient of his personality with our subject today, which is Muslim nationalism, will presently be established.

Of late 'Ubayd-Allàh Sindhî has been frequently acclaimed as a fervent socialist revolutionary. In fact, a leading political *Urdu* weekly sometime back printed his cover photo under the heading:

THE FIRST PREACHER OF ISLAMIC SOCIALISM IN THE SUB-CONTINENT—'UBAYD-ALLAH SINDHI[53]

Now it is true that he is an author who so admirably condemns imperialism.[54] Moreover, he claims to have studied Socialism during his sojourn in the Soviet Union. One should, therefore, expect him to set us an example of how to make a concrete historical analysis of the national question from Marxist concepts. During his time the question at issue was the national programme of the progressive forces of a definite country in a definite period, *i.e.*, the Sub-continent during the first half of the present century. But does 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî raise the question as to what historical period the Sub-continent was then passing through? Does he investigate what the concrete features were of the national question and the national movements of his particular country in his particular period?

No, he does not! He says absolutely nothing about it! In his works you will not find even the shadow of an analysis of how the national question stands in the Sub-continent in that historical period, or of the specific features of the Sub-continent in this particular respect.

As an analytical socialist he ought to have drawn a clear distinction between the two periods of capitalism, which differ radically from each other as far as the national movement is concerned. First, there is the period of the collapse of feudalism and absolutism. This is the period when the bourgeois society and state are formed. For the first time in history the national movements become mass movements. During this phase *all* classes are drawn into politics, be it through the newly developed mass media, through participation in representative institutions or other ways. The second is the period of fully formed capitalist states. They have a long-established constitutional regime and the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeois is highly developed. In the terminology of Marxism-Leninism this second period is called the "eve of capitalism's downfall."[55]

The typical features of the first period are:

(1) The awakening of movements struggling for political liberty in general and for the rights of the nation in particular.

(2) The drawing of the peasants into these movements, a significant change because traditionally they are the most numerous while at the same time the most sluggish section of the population.

Typical features of the second period are:

(1) The absence of bourgeois-democratic mass movements. Developed capitalism brings closer together nations that have already been fully drawn into commercial intercourse. They are intermingling to an increasing degree.

(2) The antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working-class movement is brought to the forefront.

"These two periods are, of course, not walled off from each other; they are connected by numerous transitional links. Countries differ from each other in the rapidity of their national development, in the national make-up and distribution of population and so on."

Therefore, in the words of Lenin:

"There can be no question of the Marxists of any country drawing up their national programme without taking into account all these general, historical and concrete state conditions."[56]

But 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî does not come forward with such an analysis. Instead, he "tries to read into the literature of Sháh Waliy-Alláh and his school what is patently not there."[57]

His wishful ecclecticism makes him present Sháh Waliy-Alláh's teachings as "a configuration of modern politico-economic movements of the West."[58] However, this helps him no further than to come out with idealism rather than ideas. One of Pakistan's most prolific thinkers, who is moreover a Muslim Socialist, has poignantly described Sindhî's reflections as "a potpourri of half baked ideas on politics, society, and history." The trouble with 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî is, the same critic continues, that "he does not know, except cursorily, what the revolutionary movements of Europe really mean."[59] This criticism may sound harsh but it is a fact which did not also escape the scrutinizing mind of Jawaharlal Nehru when he met Sindhî in Italy. Indubitably Nehru was favourably inclined toward 'Ubayd-Alláh the Congressite. In fact, Nehru called Sindhî's scheme for the 'United States' or 'United Republic of India', "quite an able attempt to solve the communal problem." But inspite of this Congressism, Nehru could not help passing the remark that "Moulvi Obeidulla, whom I met for a short while in Italy....seemed to me to be clever, but....he was not in touch with modern ideas."

As is the case with so many authors the life and work of Sindhî can be divided into main phases. These different phases find their reflection in the conflicting tendencies of his writings. In

the period before and during his exile he belonged to what Lenin would have called "the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation."[61] At that time he agitated for an uprising or revolutionary war against the imperialist powers. In the colony where he was born the bourgeois-democratic movement had then hardly begun, it still had a long way to go. Under such circumstances Sindhî demanded, like a true Socialist, the unconditional and immediate liberation of the national territory without compensation or concession.

But then, at some stage of his career as a revolutionary, a change of orientation took place. This made itself felt especially after his return to India in 1939. Surely, the return from such a long exile has not always been a rewarding experience. In many cases it rather caused utter frustration. At home the world does not stand still to wait for the return of the hero. The returnee may be a hero but he is seldom proclaimed as such, often he is not even recognised as a hero and many a time he and his heroic role are altogether forgotten. Nehru has given a masterly description of the Indian exiles in Europe. Let me just quote a few lines from his autobiography:

> "They felt that they were playing a historic role, that they were involved in great and epoch-making undertakings. Many of them had exciting adventures, hair-breadth escapes. In the later stages of the war, their importance was visibly lessened and they began to be ignored....life became a dreary affair for them after the failure of all their hopes. They had gambled for high stakes and lost. In any event, life would have seemed a humdrum affair after the high adventure and importance of those wartime years."[62]

Almost everybody who knew the aged 'Ubayd-Allâh Sindhî personally and especially those who happened to be closely associated with him agree that he was very much frustrated. I had the chance to meet a large number of Sindhî's admirers and some of them are ardent disciples of his. Sindhî must have possessed extraordinary charms, because I have not come across anybody who knew him and was not deeply impressed by his personality, his manners and way of speech. It is, therefore, all the more striking that there seems to be a general consensus about his having been an

almost tragically frustrated man and many admirers admit that at least toward the end of his life he appeared to be quite confused and full of contradictions.

But then we know from the history of revolution as analysed by Lenin about the transformation that takes place at a certain phase of the struggle. When the beginning of the socialist revolution draws nearer the proletariat realises that it will be faced with the task of winning power, expropriating the banks and effecting other dictatorial measures. At this moment the pioneers of liberalism have grown old and, especially in Muslim countries, look back at an eventful life of reformism that eventually proved to be a failure. They then turn into quite undisguised servants of the bourgeois from which most of them hail. They become opportunists or, as Lenin would say, social-chauvinists. They favour unity with the so-called motherland and in practice are completely identified with it. "They defend the right to self-determination hypocritically and by words alone; they consider 'excessive' the demand for free political separation, they do not defend the necessity for revolutionary tactics on the part of the socialists."[63]

Among the so-called liberal generation, be it in Egypt or in the Sub-continent, this has proved to be an almost classical career. It has been most ably demonstrated by a young orientalist, Baber Johansen, at the instance of the illustrious author Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, about whom Johansen wrote a brilliant thesis.[64]

Thus in the closing years of his life we find 'Ubayd-Allah Sindhî advocating the dominion status in the British Fmpire as the ideal independence for India. The Indian National Congress he considers as a strong bulwark for the Muslims against the onslaught of secularist and atheistic tendencies.[65] Typically for the bourgeois, and especially the intellectuals of the Fabian type, he strives to split and check the ievolution of the Muslim masses by foisting limited, democratic aims on it. In fact, by availing himself of Qur'ánic terminology he declares liberalism to be the "straight path" (*al-ṣirâṭ al-mustaqim*). In the same vein he writes:

> "I accept the industrialism and militarism of Europe and in socialism there is our Imâm Waliy-Alláh of Delhi, who

holds a high position in philosophy and economics."[66]

True to social-chauvinism he distorts Sháh Waliy-Alláh's vision of an international movement leading back to the essentials of all religions. Even prior to this he had used the Delhi reformer's *Qur'an* understanding to provide bright prospects for the self-expansion of his own brand of "Indianism". Sháh Waliy-Alláh, while characterizing the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him), had said that his mission to the children of Isma'il implied a second mission to all the people of the earth.[67] Now 'Ubayd-Alláh assigns this function to his semi-Mahdiy, to Sháh Waliy-Alláh himself. When he speaks of Waliy-Alláh in Delhi it reads like Muhammad in Mecca, Hindustani stands in place of 'Arabi, and Dehlavi we have to take for Qureshi:

> "Like the prophets of old", Sindhî writes, "the distinguished leaders of this school of thought directed their address to the entire mankind, though it appears as if their call is meant for their own nation. A penetrating study of Sháh Waliy-Alláh's books reveals that though this language is the language of Delhi he addresses, through the medium of Delhi's elite, the Jewish, the Christian, and the Arab and non-Arab nations of the Muslims as well as Hindus and other non-Semitic peoples —all of them on equal footing... Sháh Waliy-Alláh singled out his own nation only because in this way he could present their educated class as a practical model to the world. Reading his books carefully one gets the impression that he prepares every individual of his nation to educate humanity as a whole. The Delhi of his time was a world-centre where people of all nations were found. Delhi had the capability that through its medium this teaching could be spread to the entire India and furthermore to the entire world."[68]

Consequently Sindhî wants "his India" to erect its new edifice on the all-pervading spirit of essential monism. He wants it to complete the unfinished task of Ashoka, Akbar, and Aurangzeb and "one day to acquaint the whole world with this lofty, all-embracing humanitarian thinking".[69] To achieve this end the frustrated social-chauvinist decided in 1940:

> "not to make our movement into an all-India movement from the start, but rather base ourselves in the centre at Delhi so as to educate our nations. We wish to spend ten or twenty years in peaceful life so that we can attain to a good position in the British Commonwealth under the suzerainty of Britain."[70]

Summarizing we can say that for Sindhî, in the later phase of his life, nationalism is only a temporary, practical shape given to the ideal of internationalism. The world can be acquainted with the ideal of internationalism only through the exploitation of the nationalist impulse and its progressive refinement. It is only through the group feeling of a vigorous, nucleus people that the faith can be spread. In the present age, a united India was destined to the mission of becoming the nucleus for the spread of the world-embracing creed.[71] It is here that 'Ubayd-Alláh fumbles most. Sometimes he seems to imply the conversion of India to Islam. In this case his stand would not differ from that of Muhammad 'Ali Jawhar and his *Tablígh* and *Tanzím* movement, which maintained that the only way to unity was for all India to embrace Islam. But other instances made it appear as if Sindhî is preaching something like the MORAL REARMAMENT of the West. The political entanglement of this US based movement is well-known all the world over. We certainly ought to beware not to over-stretch the parallel but the British snare contained in Sindhî's programme of moral rearmament is too obvious. In a 1940 address of his, he outlines the moralist character of his party with the political tangle following suit:

"اس فلسفی کی تعلیم سے ہمیں ایک اور فائدہ حاصل کرنا بھی مقصود ہے۔ ہم اپنی اس نئی جماعت کو سرکاری یا مذہبی خدمات کے لیے تیار نہیں کر رہے ہیں ۔ اس لیے انہیں ہم خدمت خلق کا پروگرام ہی دے سکتے ہیں۔ ولی‌اللہ فلاسفی چونکہ تمام ادیان کا مرجع انسانیت اور اس کی تکمیل کو قرار دیتی ہے ہم یقین رکھتے ہیں کہ جس قدر یہ فکر کسی ذہن میں راسخ ہوگا اسی قدر وہ خلق اللہ کا اچھا خادم بن سکے گا۔

"جس طرح ہندوستانی قومی فکر میں ہم ولی‌اللہ فلاسفی کو مرکزی درجہ دینا چاہتے ہیں اسی طرح ہم عملی پروگرام کے لیے برٹش کامن ویلتھ

میں رھنے کا فیصلہ کرنے والی پارٹی نیشنل کانگریس کے اندر
پیدا کرنا ضروری سمجھتے ھیں۔ ایسی پارٹی . . . جو عملاً ھو رول
حاصل کرنے پر اپنی تمام طاقت صرف کردے گی اور اس میں ھم اپنے
نوجوانوں کے انقلابی افکار کو منظم کرلیں گے۔ وہ نراج اور اشتراکیت
سے اپنے آپ کو مستغنی سمجھیں گے۔ کانگریس کریڈ ماننے کے لیے
استقلال نام کو ھمارا نصب العین تو رھےگا لیکن جب تک برطانوی
طاقت ھمارے ملک پر قابض ھے ھم عوام کے لیے کوئی ایسا پروگرام
نہیں بناسکتے جو ھوم رول سے آگے قدم بڑھائے"۔

As is his wont, Sindhî attributes his conception to Sháh Waliy-Alláh who spoke of reducing all religions to the four common principles of Purity, Humility, Magnanimity, and Justice.[73] Anyone, familiar with the Anglo-American Society for Moral Re-armament, will be struck by the similarity, but with Sindhî this is the kernel of his faith in *wahdat al-wujud*, the idea of the oneness of all being or, in a more philosophical terminology, essential monism. This creed, he says, is common to Hindu philosopy and Muslim mysticism and at the same time it is acceptable to the modern scientific mind.[74]

Thus in the final phase of this scheme there is hardly any scope left either for a specific grouping under the banner of pan-Islamism or even for internationalism. Internationalism pre-supposes nationalism. *Baynal-aqwamîyat*, internationalism, cannot possibly be visualized once the "practical model" of the nation has fulfilled its role and there remain no more *qawmîyát* to enter into a communion with so as to create an inter-relationaship. Remarkably enough it is Iqbál who realized the inconsistency and inferred in clear terms:

> "But the staunchest internationalist recognizes that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international State."[75]

Other Muslim writers have not been able to perceive of *qawmyîat* (nationalism) but as the egoistic and unbalanced phase of infancy in the life of humanity.[73] As against this, 'Ubayd-Alláh Sindhî, in his moments of clarity and broad vision, has proclaimed it as a

sound and desirable phase of maturity. But true to his bourgeois-liberal tradition and the resulting immersion in social-chauvinism he reduces nationalism to no more than a pragmatic concession. By artificially creating an abnormal conflict between national consciousness and internationalism, he ultimately sacrifices the nation for the sake of mystical cosmopolitism. This spurious effacement of the self, characteristic of the frustrated generation of liberals, is to be achieved as the ultimate order.

'Ubayd-Allāh Sindhī did not live to see the establishment of Pakistan, he died in 1944. In the meantime the Muslim nation of the Sub-continent has passed its verdict on the national question. Its decision has been confirmed by the experience of other nations in Africa and Asia. Many Muslim thinkers have corroborated the ideals of Muslim nationalism during the last two decades.

But there is probably no one who has given such a clear expression to it as Al-Marḥum Frantz Fanon, the philosopher of the Algerian revolution, who wrote:

> "If man is known by his acts, then we will say that the most urgent thing today for the intellectual is to build up his nation. If this building up is true, that is to say, if it interprets the manifest will of the people and reveals the eager masses, then the building of a nation is of necessity accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalising values. Far from keeping aloof from other nations, therefore, it is national liberation which leads the nation to play its part on the stage of history. It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this two-fold emerging is ultimately the sole source of all culture......."[77]

> "The consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication. Philosophic thought teaches us, on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."[78]

NOTES

1) Sources for 'Ubayd-Allah Sindhi's biography are: (a) his autobiography called **Dhati Diary** (Lahore 1946); (b) his own account of the seven years in Kabul entitled **Kabul Men Sat Sal** (Lahore,, 1955); (c) his Arabic *Qur'an* commentary **Ilham al-Rahman** (Azizabad/Sindh n.d.), vol I; (d) the **Khutubat-o Maqalat-e-Mawlana Ubayd-Allah Sindhi** published by Muhammad Sarwar (second edition, Lahore 1970); (e) Muhammad Sarwar's rudimentary study; **Mawlana 'Ubayd-Allah Sindhi—Halat-e-Zindagi, Ta'limat Aor Siyasi Afkar** (Lahore 1943, third edition, 1967); (f) the autobiography of Zafar Hasan Aybak; **Ap Biti** (Lahore n.d.)

2) Hafeez Malik: **Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan** (Washington 1963), p. 228.

3) **Khutubat** p. 69.

4) This the present author gathered from personal discussions with several of those companions, prominently among them Iqbal Sheda'i and 'Abd al-Wahid Batt, both former activists of the Indian Communist Party, as well as from conversations with 'Aziz Ahmad, a nephew of Sindhi, who accompanied him throughout the 24 years of exile.

5) Cf the preface to **Ilham al-Rahman.**

6) Cf **Khutubat.**

7) Shah Waliy-Allah is an author of nearly forty works. His **Hujjat-Allah al-Baligha** is a work comparable in profundity to the **Ihya'** of Al-Ghazali. The former book is the only one from the pen of a Muslim scholar from India to be included in the curricula of the Azhar University in Cairo.

8) Sindhi: **Falsafa** p. 170.

9) Ibid 74-75: **Ilham al-Rahman** vol 1, p 16, 102, 125.

10) **Ilham al-Rahman** vol. II, p. 230-1

11) Iqbal: **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam** (Lahore 1930, reprinted 1965), cf the chapter "The Spirit of Muslim Culture".

12) Cf Detlev Khalid: "Some Aspects of Neo-Mu'tazilism" in **Islamic Studies** (Islamabad, September 1969).

13) **Al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm** (Cairo 1929); cf Erwin Rosenthal; **Islam in the Modern National State** (Cambridge 1965).

14) **Reconstruction** 172-3.

15) Sarwar *op. cit.* 240 ff.

16) Cf Erwin Rosenthal; **Political Thought in Medieval Islam** (Cambridge 1958).

17) Sarwar *op. cit.* 244-5, 260.

18) *Ibid.* 247.

19) *Ibid.* 41-44, 242-7, 374.

20) *Ibid.* 240 ff.

21) *Ibid.* 238 Sindhi; **Falsafa** 190.

22) **Zuhr al-Islam** (Cairo 1945, third edition 1962), vol I, p. 94 ff.

23) Sarwar *op. cit.* 250-3.

24) *Ibid.* 265.

25) Fazlur Rahman; **Islam** (London 1966), p. 229.

26) **La Rebelion de las Masas—Con un Prologo para Franceses** (Madrid 1964), p. 17.

27) Press. Address M. L., Allahabad 1930, in S.A. Vahid; **Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal** (Lahore 1964), p. 163.

28) *Ibid.*

29) *Op. cit.* p. 17.

30) **Payam-e-Mashriq** p. 143-4.

31) *Op. cit.* p. 17.

32) Sindhi; **Falsafa** 36 ff.

33) **Das Problem der Islamischen Kulturgeschichte** (Tubingen 1945), p. 45.

34) **Ilham al-Rahman** vol. I, p. 14.

35) S. A. Vahid *op. cit.* p. 287.

36) Sir Hamilton Gibb; "The University in the Arab Muslim World" in **The University outside Europe** (Oxford 1939), p. 295.

37) **Reconstruction** 158.

38) Sindhi: **Falsafa** 187-8.

39) Sarwar *Op. cit.* 301-3.

40) *Ibid.* 246.

41) *Op. cit.* 227.

42) G. von Grunebaum: (**Modern Islam—The Search for Cultural Identity** (Los Angeles 1962), p. 204.

43) Louis Wirth in **American Journal of Sociology** XLI, p. 723.

44) 'Allal al-Fasi; **Al-Naqd al-Dhati** (Tetuan n. d.), p. 93-95.

ومعنى هذا ان التطور يقع لا محالة بواسطه عاملين يشتغلان بصفة موازية في حياة الجماعات : الاول روح **الارض** ، والثانى عمل النموذج النفسى ـ ان **الارض** وما تشتمل عليه من مشاهد وما تحسه من اجواء تعمل باتحاد مع النموذج النفسى لتكييف الشخص وهما اللذان يرسمان على وجوهنا الصفات التى تميز الاجناس و الشعوب و روح المشاهد هى التى تصوغ نفوس الامم تعطيها مقوماتها الوطنيه المحسوسه ـ

توحيد **الارض** بالنموذج النفسى وتوحيد هما معا بروح العصر ذلک هو التفاعل الانسانى الذى تمتزج فيه ماديه الارض بروحانيه الانسان فيصبح الكل عبارة عن فكرة مجردة هى فكره الوطنيه الصحيحه التى لا تعتبر الناس بناء على ما بينهم من فوارق الجنس و اللغه و الدين ، وانما تعتبرهم بحسب ما يمكن من الا تحاد بين نموذجهم الشخصى والوطن الذى يعيشون فيه ، و ما تتكيف به مظاهر هم کا نعکاس لا شعه المشاهد الكونيه و طبا ئعها فى **الارض** التى هم عليها ـ (النقد الذاتى ٩٣-٩٥)

45) Sarwar *op. cit.* p. 436-442.

46) **Islam and the Integration of Society** (London 1966), p. 276.

47) Sindhi: **Falsafa**; p. 60 ff.

48) Sindhi: **Shah Waliy-Allah Aor Unki Siyasi Tahrik** (Lahore 1942). p. 166.

49) **Khutubat** p. 196.

50) Sindhi; Falsafa 235.

51) *Ibid.* 236, see also 234-5.

"ہم نے ہندوستان کے باہر دوسرے اسلامی ملکوں میں سیاحت اور قیام کے دوران دیکھا ہے کہ ایک عرب اگر اپنے مسلمان ہونے پر فخر کرتا ہے، تو اسے اتنا ہی اپنے عرب ہونے کا بھی فخر ہوتا ہے۔ اور یہی حال ایرانی اور ترک کا بھی ہے۔ مگر ایک ہندوستانی کو جب دوسرے اسلامی ملک میں جانے کا اتفاق ہوتا ہے تو اسے اپنی ہندوستانیت سے نفرت سی محسوس ہونے لگتی ہے۔ اس کی وجہ ہمارے نزدیک یہ ہے کہ اس کے ذہن میں ہندوستانیت اور اسلام دو الگ الگ چیزیں ہیں۔ چنانچہ جب اسے اپنے مسلمان ہونے پر بزعم خود یقین ہوتا ہے تو وہ اپنے ذہن سے ہندوستانیت کو خارج کرنا ضروری سمجھتا ہے۔ اس کا سبب معلوم کرنا زیادہ دشوار نہیں۔ بات یہ ہے کہ عام طور پر ہمارے ہاں کے مسلمان بیرون ہند کے علماء اور آئمہ کی کتابوں اور ان کی تعلیمات سے اسلام سیکھتے ہیں۔ اس کا لازمی نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ ان کے ذہن میں شعوری اور غیر شعوری طور پر یہ بات راسخ ہو جاتی ہے کہ اسلام اور اس کی تعلیمات کے مرکز سارے کے سارے ہندوستان سے باہر ہی ہیں"۔

52) Reconstruction p. 159.

53) Weekly Nusrat (Lahore), August 31st, 1969.

54) Cf. Ilham al-Rahman Vol. II, p. 113-125.

55) Lenin; Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism (Moscow 1967), p. 51.

56) *Ibid.*

57) Safdar Mir in THE PAKISTAN TIMES, February 7th, 1971.

58) *Ibid.*

59) *Ibid.*

60) Jawaharlal Nehru; An Autobiography (London 1953).

61) Lenin *op. cit.* 119.

62) Nehru *op. cit.* 152.

63) Lenin *op. cit.* 119.

64) Baber Johansen: **Muhammad Husain Haikal—Europa und der Orient im Weltbild eines Aegyptischen Liberalen** (Beirut 1967).

65) **Khutubat** p. 132, 135, 162.

66) *Ibid.* 162.

67) Shah Waliy-Allah: **Hujjat Allah al-Baligha** vol I, p. 254-5, 266-7.

68) Sindhi: **Siyasi Tahrik** p. 37-40.

69) Sarwar *op. cit.* 451.

70) **Khutubat** p. 162.

71) Sarwar *op. cit.* 231 ff., 430-1, 450.

72) **Khutubat** p. 197-8.

73) Shah Waliy-Allah: **Hama'at** (No. 17, p. 89 ff. in the 1964 edition of Shah Waliy-Allah Academy, Hyderabad/Sindh). The virtues are mentioned as.

طہارت - خضوع - سماحت - عدالت

Cf. Sindhi: **Siyasi Tahrik**, 62; for a further discussion see Shams al-Rahman Muhsini: **Shah Waliy-Allah ke 'Umrani Nazariye** (Lahore 1968), p. 115 ff.

74) **Khutubat** p. 111.

75) S. A. Vahid *op. cit.* 170.

76) Cf. Detlev Khalid: "Ahmad Amin—Modern Interpretation of Muslim Universalism" in **Islamic Studies** (Islamabad March 1969).

77) Frantz Fanon: **The Wretched of the Earth** p. 199.

78) *Ibid.* 198.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
29 June, 1971.

DR. MOINUDDIN BAQAI

EVERY nation possesses its own temper and has a feel of its own. Economic development embodies the economic and social temper and philosophy of a country and reflects the hopes and aspirations of the entire nation. It seeks to balance the requirements of conflicting objectives and interests and involves many difficult choices and decisions.

Towards the end of the 18*th century occurred the Industrial Revolution in England and the philosophy behind that revolution—namely that money should be usefully channelized and not allowed to stratify in the form of assets—was accepted by all of Western Europe and the Anglo-Saxon transplantation on the soil of North America, which we know today as the United States of America. Contrary to what many of us think, heavy industry in the U.S.A. and Britain and indeed in the Western world, presents far less glittering prospects than light industry and consumer goods, as is amply attested by the bankruptcy of giants like Rolls Royce, Lockheed and Penn Central. And yet the industrial sector keeps on growing, despite meagre returns as compared to, say, the chemicals or food processing industries.*

In Pakistan, on the other hand, the emphasis has been from the start on consumer industry and planning entered into our economy eight years after independence. Had it not been for our good performance in agriculture which in 1968-69 *exceeded the target, the Pakistani economy would indeed have been in a dismal shape. You just cannot build an economy on imported materials and know-how and find after five years when you have installed a manufacturing plant that the primary producers who have supplied the plant have naturally come up with a better product. I consider one news item to be of extreme significance. One country has recommended the imposition of ban on the manufacture of DDT but has allowed its export. Who will be the importers. Countries like Pakistan obviously. And being*

a less industrialized country, I suppose, we have to gulp the sugar-coated pill of a chemical which has been found to be so damaging to the environment.

One lesson has been effectively learned and that, the economy must in future rely increasingly on its own domestic efforts and the theme of self-reliance should be built into all future plans and policies. All the elements of our strategy for economic development are essential steps towards our objective of self-reliance. These steps are firstly a rapid and co-ordinated development of the country's human resources. We cannot successfully implement sophisticated developments without a massive programme of education, training and research. An untrained, illiterate population is a liability while an educated, skilled and motivated population is a national asset. The second step is to consolidate gains in the agriculture sector and the third is to intensify our heavy industries so that production of more and more capital goods would reduce our dependence upon foreign aid.

Some points stand out in clarity, which might help us in attaining proficiency in the industrial sector and carry us towards the objective of self-reliance.

(i) *Making it mandatory on manufacturing units above a certain scale of turn-over, or profit, to pool money into Research Associations which should fully investigate the scope of a particular industry and draw comprehensive plans for ancillary industries.*

(ii) *Private sector should not be earmarked for less capital-absorbing industries like paper, cement, ghee, etc. They should be made to compete with nationalized industries in even the heavy industry and some sort of mechanism should be fixed whereby the private sector is induced to invest in heavy industry. This would make the nationalized sector more alive to the need for efficiency.*

(iii) *The production of steel should be, somehow or other, trebled by the end of Fifth Five-Year Plan, and, whatever the cost, the extraction of other metals like aluminium, copper, etc. should be actively considered. The Fourth Five-Year Plan has made a good beginning by according consideration to the installation of our aluminium plant based on imported alumina.*



DR. MOINUDDIN BAQAI

(iv) *The development of an economy should be as uniform as possible. Disparities in the levels of prosperity of one region would generate smouldering hatred. We have the examples of Italy, where the southern region is far poorer, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and Brazil—to quote only a few instances. This is even more imperative in Pakistan. Industrialization of selected regions leads to what is known as "encapsulated" prosperity, scattered like a few cases here and there in a huge desert. For a country like Pakistan this would be a very dangerous policy to adopt. Even at the cost of fragmentation of industry we should adopt this course in national interest.*

(v) *Our planning should not be mechanistic as it has been so far. The Economic Adviser to the President of Pakistan, Mr. M.M. Ahmad, has attributed the neglect of the social content as the principal failing of the Third Plan. However, we have introduced certain welcome changes, such as the enhancement of expenditure from 2 to 5 percent of the national exchequer.*

(vi) *For each industrial and utility sector the formation of two bodies may be considered—one advisory and the other executive. This, broadly speaking, has been the pattern in Britain and the USA. The executive counterpart for the Science Research Council and the Ministry of Technology in Britain, for instance, is the National Research and Development Corporation. We, in Pakistan, tend to combine both. Once the line of demarcation is set out and spelled in clear and unequivocal terms, I am sure that Pakistan's development would surely be more rapid.*

These, in a nutshell, are some of the ideas which have occurred to me. There is, of course, the question of maintaining a comprehensive register of qualified manpower so as to alleviate the burden of the "educated unemployed or underemployed". High targets and figures do not mean much if our young people feel that they are deprived of their rightful share. And this is precisely what is wrong with Pakistan, engineers have to become bankers not by choice but by necessity and bureaucrats technocrats and vice versa. Let us hope that the time will soon come when each specialist would feel proud of his specialization.

Another aspect which demands immediate redemption is that money should not be allowed to go out of circulation. The recent de-

monetization measures by Government is one of the most radical taken by any government, but the point is that the surplus in the form of savings should be invested and not allowed to languish in the form of assets. In countries like Iran, UAR, and Turkey there is constant circulation of money, adding to the prosperity of the people. Let us take the measures we adopted to their culmination, so that every Pakistani is guaranteed the minimum security.

Decision-makers know that the shorter the transition period and the faster the learning, the better. I cannot help recalling Nietzsche's famous maxim: "That which does not destroy me, makes me stronger". This sentence admirably epitomises several of the histories of economic development projects in recent decades throughout the world. It should equally apply to us.

We are privileged to have an expert here today as our Guest Speaker- Dr. Moinuddin Baqai, Joint Secretary, Economic Co-ordination and External Assistance Division, Government of Pakistan. He will more succinctly identify the situation, objectives and strategy of Economic Development. Dr. Baqai received his Master's Degree from the University of the Panjab and his Doctorate from the University of Kansas. Thereafter he has held important positions in Government of Pakistan starting with the State Bank. The nature of his work during the entire period has been related to economic research, economic planning and economic policy formulation. He has been actively connected with the formulation of the Third Five-Year Plan and the Fourth Five-Yer Plan. He has represented Pakistan in several economic delegations to foreign countries, speaks excellent English and Urdu, has a working knowledge of French and Arabic and has several publications to his credit. His economic know-how is a great national asset.

Hakim Mohammed Said

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Dr. Moinuddin Baqai

IT is an honour for me to be invited to speak before this distinguished gathering of those who are interested in an intellectual discussion of current, literary and historical issues. It is an important occasion for a person having pretentions to expertise in any field when he is given an opportunity to communicate with an enlightened group like this.

Let me state it quite clearly that I speak this evening as an economist without any official position or connection. In fact on some of the points I will speak against the current beliefs and orthodoxy of my profession. You may, therefore, take it that I speak as an ordinary thinking man with some knowledge and background of economics.

I would talk to you on a subject which is not quite topical and which is not likely to bring up head lines in the Press. The problem of economic development, when it is not immediately related to concrete issues within a country, but discussed as a wider question of interest to all developing countries, attracts only a few other than professional economists. But it is a fundamental social question of our times. All social and even political issues would finally have to find a solution within the context of a pattern of economic development.

The problem of economic development is quite recent in human history. Until the first two or three decades of the current century, the subjects which economists discussed were quite different. How are prices determined under perfect competition or monopoly conditions? How are wages determined? How to avoid the cycles

of boom and depression in the economy? Economic development as a separate branch of economic science did not start emerging almost until we entered the second half of the twentieth century.

The problem of economic development is the other side of the coin in the problem of poverty. For centuries, bulk of human race has lived in or very near the level of mass poverty. The social pattern evolved by various societies implied a clear acceptance of the fact. Acquisition of wealth was bad, because in a stagnant economy, wealth acquired by one implied more poverty for others. The society also enjoined upon the rich to take care of the poor. The dignity of poverty was extolled in folk-lore as well as religion.

This is not to paint a picture with all-pervasive poverty and misery. Certain societies acquired great prosperity in their times through conquest, trade or technological advance. But this was always an isolated phenomenon and did not give rise to a continuous process of growth. Even the initial progress did not last after the factor which provided the momentum for progress, was no longer operative. There never was a continuing mechanism of growth in the economy. Beyond a certain point, wealth could only be hoarded as a security against future catastrophe. It could not be invested to produce more wealth in future.

The 18th Century saw the manifestations of what is now called the Industrial Revolution in U.K. It continued to spread to European countries and the new territories of Canada and USA. This was never a very pleasant process. Anyone who reads novels of Charles Dickens knows what life meant for those who lived through the process of Industrial Revolution in UK. Surprisingly this experience produced classical economists, who were the defenders of this system suggesting that not doing anything and letting people do what their economic interest requires would produce the best results. Economic progress would be faster. The same experience, however, also produced socialists of various brands who were revolted at the sight of human misery. Most important among these was, of course, Karl Marx. Irrespective of the merit of his economic reasoning, he did produce considerable social change throughout the world. The responsibility of the Government to eliminate the worst effects of poverty was fully accepted. The

belief that poverty is inevitable for a large part of the human race was set aside.

While the philosophy, that state policy could seek distribution of national wealth for eradication of poverty, had an increasing impact within what we now call developed countries, the world has remained divided between the rich and the poor nations. The majority of the world population still lives in great poverty. The per capita income in North American Continent is roughly $3,500 per annum. The income level for European Economic Community countries is around $ 1,600 per capita income. However, a large number of the remaining countries excluding Japan and some of the oil-producing countries, are in the range of per capita income upto $300. Pakistan, India and some of the other more populous countries constituting a major part of the world population have an income of less than $100 per annum per capita.

The modern concern with economic development in less developed countries is based on the belief that poverty is no longer the inherent fate of mankind. The application of science and the technology to the present known natural resources of the world can ensure a better standard of living for its inhabitants. There is enough basis in scientific development for this optimism. The only hindrances are institutional and man-made.

If the world was comprised of one single nation, a reallocation of world resources by increasing labour supply in the more industrialized countries and improving the availability of capital in favour of less developed countries would have reduced the differences in the standard of living of people living in different parts of the world. There would have been a sense of responsibility for the removal of poverty. Such a feeling of responsibility is absent in today's world comprising of rich nations and poor nations. It is only marginally reflected in aid policies of a few countries. Others have not moved far beyond a purely commercial relationship.

There would hopefully be a time when foreign aid policies of developed countries would be based on the concept that they have a duty towards the poverty-stricken people of the less-developed countries. For the time being, the latter must rely primarily on

their own resources and internal forces of change, only marginally helped by foreign loans and grants.

It is, however, necessary for the developing countries to be clear about their objectives. Economic development is not an objective by itself. It is a means towards the realization of a higher objective. The objective must be to create a healthy and progressive society. Such a society would undoubtedly require that its members should not suffer from the limitations which acute poverty imposes. Hence, economic development. But it would also imply that methods of economic development, which disrupt social values dearly cherished by society, would have to be rejected.

The objective of social life and civilization is to ensure that the individuals get best opportunities for self-development. In the early days when individual was relatively freed from the hazards of jungle life by living in groups, this allowed him freedom to improve himself and advance towards a higher civilised life. Today, it is demanded from the society that its ordinary member be freed from the misery which poverty imposes and the curbs it places on the expression of talent. This would allow the individuals to develop their full human potential.

It does not mean that a better society would necessarily emerge with economic development and reduction in the level of poverty. It only implies that a certain advancement in economic field is essential for further progress in the direction of ultimate social objectives.

Once the objective of economic development is stated in terms of its overall impact on the shape and structure of the society and the lives of individual members of the society, there is no conflict between economic development and social justice. Both are aimed at achieving the same ultimate goal. It is largely a matter of time. An emphasis on pure economic growth in the early phase, at the cost of distribution of income, can be designed to generate larger income for distribution in a later phase. It is, however, necessary that no permanent distributional distortions are created.

Over a long enough period, social sector development must create larger economic development. Investment in education may not have a significant impact on production and Gross National Product during the same plan period. But over a 20-25 year period, by producing a generation of better-educated and better-trained young people, it may suddenly transform the entire outlook of the economy and the society. Similarly the construction of health services and better housing for productivity through a more efficient labour force need not be under-estimated.

However, the entire investment cannot be of a type where the identity of social and economic objectives can be so clearly seen. There would remain need for investment which produces growth but would only indirectly and in a rather blurred manner finally serve social objectives. It is in these areas that development policy must aim at ensuring that this long-term identity is maintained.

We have to bother about the quality of investment and its social impact rather than its magnitude alone. In the case of housing, for instance, current market forces tend to direct investment in luxury housing. Pure emphasis on investment and growth would not find this undesirable. However, once luxury housing has drawn resources, while it may give some immediate employment and growth, it is bound to create long-term problems in the area of social justice. We may project that through a process of industrialization roughly half of our population would be living in urban areas in roughly a quarter century. By then the population of Pakistan would have increased beyond 200 million mark. Accommodation would thus be needed for 100 million people, in large and small cities. Can we provide them enough living space in urban areas, if we have housing on the standard we are tolerating today. If, as is likely, we have difficulty in providing living space for 20 million families in urban areas, there would never be toleration for large palatial houses. Obviously something has to be done along the lines, the Budget Speech indicated this year. Probably more such areas would have to be identified in due course.

The basic problem is that economic development must be preceded by a clear vision of the society that we are planning to create. The trouble with most developing countries over the last quarter

century has been that they generally assumed economic development to be a mechanical process. Its objective has been taken as growth in G.N.P. which would then be distributed. Growth in G.N.P. would come through investment in physical capital formation. Once a plan is formulated along these lines, everything would work out fine.

It is only now being recognised that development means a total transformation of society which cannot be brought about by pulling out one element viz. economics, out of the total context. The vision of the new society must be conceived by thinkers, social philosophers and experts in all fields along with economists and not by economists alone. The development should also proceed on all aspects of social life together. No economic development can take place in vacuum.

It would be wrong for the development countries today to emulate any models derived from the experience of developed countries either from the East or West. The development process of the past has created societies which are available to us for reference. It is only if we finally hope to create a similar society, that we emulate the same path. Otherwise we would have to evolve different goals and a different society.

Most of the developed countries today can be classified in two groups. Firstly two largest countries viz. USA and USSR, have a highly favourable man-land ratio. Both these countries can afford a considerable waste of natural rosources. Man, being the most scarce factor must be used for highest productivity. What we may consider waste of natural resources, makes sense for these countries as a labour-saving device. Even with such a favourable resource endowment, the United States has reached the limits where pollution and congestion appear to be creating a reaction against further spread of mechanization. We could not hope to get the standard of living of these countries at any time in the future that we can predict about. This is irrespective of whatever growth rate we may hope to achieve.

The second group of countries may be rewarded as the trading nations. These have compensated for their unfavourable land-

man ratio by importing raw materials from abroad. UK was a successful case of the development of a trading nation. However, its success was largely owing to a pioneering role in industrial revolution as well as colonial relation with the raw-material producing part of the world. In modern times, Japan and Germany have carried out successful development as trading nations on the basis of continued technological advance, skills and labour discipline. This obviously shows the way for developing countries, but is probably not feasible for the developing countries as an entire group. It would be difficult to emulate the trading example of Germany and Japan, if every country is attempting to do the same.

This is not supposed to be an exhaustive categorization of all development experience. There are other models. In each model there are elements which can help the developing countries of the world today. The essential point to be emphasized is the obvious fallacy when planners in developing countries assume they can repeat the performance of the more developed countries. The present day developing countries would have to think in terms quite different from the mass-consumption society.

There appears to have been general acceptance of a straight line theory of development. This gives a mental picture for nothing like this. All the countries of the world are standing at different milestones on a long road. The developed countries are far ahead. The less developed countries are far behind. The only policy for less developed countries is to keep moving faster until they catch up with the developed countries. From then on, life is all bliss and happiness.

Rostow, in his stages of growth analysis, which has now become quite well-known, propounded a theory which moves along these lines. There is first a primitive society with virtually little more than subsistence sector. Then this society creates pre-conditions for growth by changing its social structure. This second stage is followed by "Take-off into self-sustained growth". During this period, there is rather rapid and sustained development with both saving and investment growing quite fast. Once development becomes an effortless part of the social dynamics, the colourless fourth stage of the Long Drive to Maturity continues. This cul-

minates in the fifth and final stage, viz. Mass-consumption Society. During the final stage, the whole economic problem is reversed. Economic growth is no longer desired for meeting human needs. Mass-consumption must be promoted for maintaining economic growth. The society must go on creating more needs by introducing television and transistor and the like in order to keep economic development going.

In this sort of analysis, the final objective seems to be to get to the stage of mass-consumption. This is the NIRVANA. This must be done through the programme chalked out for each country.

It is, however, difficult to conceive that a global Mass-consumption Society can be created for all countries of the world. For the over-populated countries of Asia, such a society can be conceived provided that only a few urban centres have to emulate them, leaving large masses out of its domain. Just taking an illustration, let us try to imagine what life would be in Pakistan, if somehow we finally succeeded in reaching a stage where there is one car for each family. The mind baulks down at the problems of congestion, traffic jams and parking problems created by about 40 million cars required to move in a total area of about 400,000 square miles. A density of slightly more than 100 cars per square mile, with much greater concentration in some areas, may hardly leave room to move about.

The per capita income in Pakistan today is roughly \$100 per capita. Doubling it with a 5.5 per cent annual growth rate and 3% per annum increase in population would require 28 years. With some improvement in growth rate and a reduction in population increase, probably this doubling can be achieved in 20 years. With the best combination of circumstances thus, roughly a century may be required to attain per capita income level of \$800 which would enable us to be roughly half the European current income level.

Obviously, the development objectives as well as development strategy for the developing countries of today cannot be formulated on the basis of the expectations of attaining a Mass-consumption Society. We have to set our sights low for the foreseeable future. Once this limitation is realized, a large part of expenditure on ad-

vertisement is obviously a waste. If the objective is not to create demand for goods which must be produced for maintaining employment, advertisement serves no useful social purpose. In general, its effects are cancelled when two different brands of the same article are vigorously advertised. From the national point of view, it could have an educational value, if it were not entirely commercial. In its present form, it represents nothing but waste.

In suggesting that the less-developed countries of today should not adopt the development path of the present day developed world, one is motivated not only by the constraint of resources, but also by a desire to avoid the mistakes of the past. The Western development has created a major problem of managing urban societies. Large urban centres have sprung which are hardly to be considered societies or communities. These are attractive urban jungles, where a very large number of individuals lead lonely lives, with the major objective of survival. These centres keep growing like monsters, making them increasingly unmanageable.

Malik Khuda Bakhsh Bucha once told me a ***Hadith*** on the subject. It is reported that people of Madina requested the Prophet (peace be upon him) for advice on collective life. He advised them not to let their cities become too big. I think this advice is extremely valid today.

We have so far talked negatively regarding what is not the correct strategy of development. This is only half of the approach. It is important in as much as the search for the right strategy cannot start before the problem has been defined to exclude the wrong solutions. It is only in recent discussions that economists are getting away from their primary concern with GNP, investment ratio and the marginal saving ratio. There has been discussion of the investment in human resource development and economic management as separate factors.

I only propose to indicate some lines along which the new answer to the problem has to be sought. First of all, the objective is to be defined not in terms of the completely neutral and composite concept of growth in GNP. This growth may be desirable or undesirable in social terms. A country may have growth in GNP

because it has a highly successful night-club business for tourists. But this does not necessarily give the country a modern growth base. Such a development may not last. It may simply destroy the social fabric of the society. This is not a far-fetched example. A few South-East Asian countries have experienced growth of this nature.

Growth in GNP can also come by either producing more food or by producing more cars, televisions and air-conditioners. There is only a certain extent upto which the composition of the bundle of goods can be corrected by foreign trade. To a very large extent, structure of the production may determine the pattern of distribution also. To have growth of a type which produces luxury goods and then to worry about the distributional aspect is tying ourselves in knots. The contradictions are obvious.

The GNP is in this sense an amoral concept. The moment a country starts worrying about distributional aspects, it has to start on something other than GNP.

It appears that the best starting point for a country seeking to attain development of a fair distributional nature is to focus attention on employment. This can bring about a really viable synthesis of growth and social justice. In the final analysis, economic development must mean productive employment of hitherto unemployed resources. It further implies more productive employment of those who are presently unemployed. This second aspect represents the problem of under-employment.

Once the problem is approached from this angle, economic development would automatically benefit those who are at the lowest rung of poverty. The worst impact of poverty is generally for those who cannot be absorbed by the system in a productive employment. If the growth philosophy starts from this angle, it is already seeking a growth which also divides the gains of development equitably.

This does not mean that we are not concerned with growth in income. The growth in income would have to come as a by-product of employment policies. It is only that the growth in income is not

the primary concern. It is not acceptable irrespective of the form it takes and the source from which it comes.

Employment policies in some sectors require large investment and huge blocks of capital formation. In other areas, employment generation can be relatively cheap in terms of capital requirement. The Western countries are moving towards an extreme of automation where the capital required per worker is extremely high. In fact the question asked in these societies is reversed. For them the attempt is to reduce the labour requirement per unit of capital. On the other hand it is possible to undertake major works purely with labour. In China, labour-intensive technology and the use of labour for some major works has attracted world attention. In Pakistan, rural works programme sought implementation of the same basic idea. The scale has, however, never been very large.

Obviously a purely labour-intensive approach to development cannot work. If capital is not available it can to a certain extent be replaced by skills and organization. But for some types of works, use of large blocks of capital is inevitable. Thus a judicious combination is needed which is tilted in favour of employment-generation.

Concern with employment means that the traditional employment-generating sectors must be given high priority. Agriculture would be the first claimant for attention. Search has to be continued for methods by which production would increase mainly with the help of more labour. The new "miracle-seed" technology presented such possibilities and has helped rural employment situation to a certain extent. But the search for new innovations has to continue.

The problem for the developing countries today basically arises from the fact that all research and innovation in Western countries is directed towards economizing the use of labour. The developing countries, who want to increase employment have very little choice in the matter of technology. So long as they depend upon borrowed technology from outside, it would be labour-saving in nature.

It, therefore, follows that the developing countries would have to devote considerable resources for research in order to find their own answers to the problem of economic development. In the more

advanced countries, large industries devote considerable resources towards innovation and research. This has proved inadequate to keep pace with modern advances and the Government is also sponsoring and aiding considerable research. In the less-developed countries today much large effort would have to be made by governments in the research field, as the private sector research is extremely small.

In the meantime, an effort has to be made towards transfer of technology. Development should not remain a modern sector grafted, on the all-pervasive traditional sector. Taking an extreme example, suppose there is a primitive economy of nomads and gypsies. It may be able to generate supplies for a modern cement plant. Such a plant can be set up on a turn-key basis by a foreign firm in which all skilled jobs may go to foreigners. This would obviously not be economic development. What is required for development is that after a few cement plants have been set up, the local people should be able to set up such plants themselves on partly or wholly imported machinery. This is the transfer of technology. After a few dams and roads have been constructed, there should be enough local experience to continue building dams and roads without foreign engineers.

All this requires a great deal of attention to be paid to education, training and manpower planning.

To sum up, the developing countries have to review their thinking about economic development and its objectives. The objectives have to be stated in human welfare terms and the strategy of development must also focus on "man" as the central figure. The effort would then be to turn each individual member into a more productive agent of society. This would involve increasing his productivity by educating and training him, by changing his outlook towards his own place in society, to nature and to other members of society and also by providing him with more accumulated social knowledge through research and finally equipping him with more capital. This is a much more difficult and challenging concept of development than what has been believed so far in the idea of physical development through setting up large blocks of capital. But this is a challenge that has got to be faced.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
3 August, 1971.

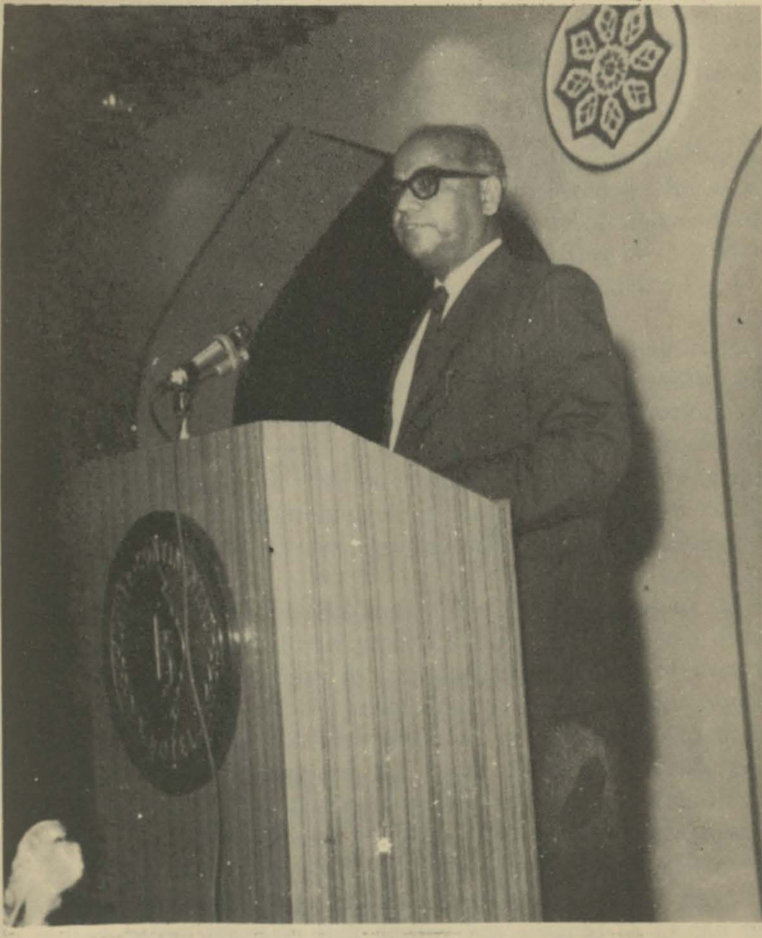
A. K. BROHI

WE are going to face three days hence, a momentous occasion in the life and history of Pakistan— the twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of Pakistan. This should be an annual day of thanks-giving to every citizen of Pakistan, because on this day he has been delivered from the pharaonic rule of Hindu domination. While giving thanks we should also do a little soul-searching. Why was Pakistan created? What are the implications of the concept of Pakistan? What does independence mean to us?

I do not propose to give all the answers, because everyone's answers will be tinged by emotionalism and the degree of attachment he has for Pakistan. But I can say with faith, truth and conviction, that Pakistan was born for a purpose, for a definite purpose—that of providing a homeland for the Muslims of the Sub-continent, a homeland with an Islamic ideology, where Muslims can live in peaceful existence and work out their lives and salvation in the practice of their religion, law and cultures. This statement has been reiterated time and again, that the mere repetition of it has made it meaningless for us. But in these days when Pakistan is poised on the brink of crises, brought on by our own selfishness, our indifference, our greed, our arrogance, our pride, to review our shortcomings and difficulties would be the first step towards redemption. We have made some progress in the agricultural, industrial and commercial fields, but in others vitally concerned with our mental, moral and physical individuality such as education, health, culture, constitution, we have achieved hardly anything. I attribute all the dissatisfaction in our society, our meagre achievement to one cause and one cause alone and that is, an improper understanding of the implications of the concept of Pakistan.

Our Guest Speaker today, Mr. A.K. Brohi, one of the foremost intellectuals of our country, thinker, writer, lawyer, diplomat is, qualified to give us all the answers. He is one of those who have faith in the ideology of Pakistan, and ample hope for its future. His talents and achievements are so well-known to us that to say anything more about him would be superfluous, and may fall short of the mark.

Hakim Mohammed Said



A. K. BROHI

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF PAKISTAN

A. K. Brohi

ON 14th of August this year Pakistan completes its Twenty-fourth year of its existence and the sponsors of this evening's function suggested that I should speak to you about matters of which we in Pakistan ought to be thinking, now that we are setting out to celebrate the Twenty-fourth Anniversary of our Independence.

A great deal has been written about the destiny of our people and their aspirations. Several blue-prints are already under circulation concerning the strategy with which we of this generation are called upon to realise the goals that the pioneers of Pakistan's ideology have outlined for us. We are being called upon daily to redeem the pledge that had been given on the eve of Pakistan's emergence as an autonomous, sovereign and self-governing republic.

I shall not attempt to recapitulate the broad features of that programme, which has been recommended to us by those who have thought about these questions, for, my commitment, as it is reflected in the title of my Address, is a modest one. I would like to present to you what I consider the historical role of Pakistan in modern history. The methodology and the technique of realising the demands that loyalty to the historical mission of Pakistan makes on us will be dealt with by me only incidentally and briefly—for, as you can no doubt appreciate, we do not have the time to examine in meticulous details the relative emphasis on priorities which have to be settled before the tasks that destiny has assigned to us can be completely tackled.

(1)

The conventional answer to the question: what is a nation, is too well known to be expounded in any measure of detail. A nation

is a community of people who feel that they belong together: this 'belonging together' is, I submit, a two-dimensional relationship and takes the form of a dual link—on the one hand, it binds us to a common heritage that has come to us from the past, and, on the other, it involves a commitment for all of us to be advancing in the direction of a common goal in the future.

The constitutional and political organisation of a nation in the sense defined here is rendered possible for a given people because of this inner belonging—a state, after all reflects a complex of ideas which have reference to the political organisation of that national solidarity which is born of a feeling of inner belonging. A successful state is an expression, at the highest level, of a people who, in truth and in substance, form the nation. The state is only one instrument among others through which the nation can protect and assert itself. Blessed, indeed, are those nations that evolve an appropriate legal and constitutional apparatus, as even other devices, for securing the political organisation of the community. In ancient times this was achieved through the deification of the person of the monarch who ruled the community as its law-giver and who reflected symbolically its ethos. But in modern times this divine right of the kings has been replaced by the divine right of the people. The legitimacy of the exercise of the power of the secular state is today derived from one and one principle alone and that is the sovereignty of the people. If the state is to be founded on any other principle—such is the logic of modern age—it is apt to be undermined, to be eventually replaced by another which would approximate as nearly as may be possible to its democratic foundation.

In the pre-Islamic era of human history there have been two approaches in terms of which men have been organised politically and integrated into a large synthesis. One of these may be characterised as the principle of consanguinity or kinship of the blood and the other the principle of territorial contiguity. There have been some nations that have been founded on the premises of racial ties, and there have been others that have been organised on the basis of their loyalty to a portion of the earth—and yet others in which both of these principles have been at work. Contemporary nationalism, is, broadly speaking, fundamentally an embodiment of the territorial nexus between the members of a community and a definite

area of the earth-surface where they live. The Jews and the Hindus of ancient times provide an illustration of the method of organising national life in terms of racial nexus, for, as we all know, the Hindus and the Jews, like the poets, are born and not made. One has to be a born Hindu, a born Jew. Considering that both of these human formations are off-springs of non-proselytizing faiths they can have no internal elasticity wherewith to assimilate alien elements from outside. That is why, basically, they, that is the Hindus and the Jews, are intolerant communities. They have to be intolerant because the possibility of somebody from outside being ever assimilated or converted to their point of view and admitted to full partnership within their community-folds is simply out of question. There have been, of course, modern variations on this theme of racialism, and Hitler's cult of the superiority of the Aryan race, ironically enough, is based precisely on the very idea he was fighting in his role as an anti-Semite against the Jews.

These two forms of integration of mankind into nations are, as I have suggested, pre-Islamic. Islam came to **devalue** these methods of integrating mankind in oneness—it substituted in place of the two principles referred to by me earlier, a third principle and that was integration of mankind in terms of the operation of a spiritual principle, a tie of faith, and it did so by declaring that all mankind is one having a common origin in God as also a common destiny which is that of its eventual return to God. "We are for God", says the Holy Book, "and to God is our return". "You are all from Adam", said the Prophet of Islam, "and Adam was made of dust".

Racial pride has been denounced by Islam in no unmistakable terms. Islam, no doubt, recognises various other modes of securing the grouping of human being, but this is only for the purpose of securing their identification and, stated negatively, those principles of grouping mankind in terms of race or territorial habitats of peoples do not by themselves connote, in the Moslem perspective of things, any human worth or dignity. Mankind has been, according to the Holy Book, created like one indivisible self, and that which can weld them in oneness must be referable to their common origin and common destiny.

There are two interesting "Stray-Thoughts" from the notebook of Allama Iqbal, compiled by his son Javed Iqbal, which are a clear commentary on the spiritual principle of integration of society enjoined by Islam which I have been expounding to you and these would bear reproduction:

> "Islam", says Iqbal, "appeared as a protest against idolatry. And what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry; a deification of a material object. Islam could not tolerate idolatry in any form. It is our eternal mission to protest against idolatry in all its forms. What was to be demolished by Islam could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community. The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place, not his birthplace, is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect".

Iqbal could have cited, as an additional support to his argument, the Declaration of the Prophet made by him in the congregational prayer sermon that he delivered in the last pilgrimage wherein he said that the Arabs have no superiority over the non-Arabs, nor the non-Arabs over the Arabs—except by the extent to which any one of them is *Muttaqi*—that is, he is self-controlled. According to Islam, "*Taqwa*" helps man to subordinate his biological impulses to the dictates of the Divine law. Islam, by definition, is, as we all know, man's surrender to the Divine Will. And no other credential, be it pride of race or of colour of skin or of wealth or any other privilege, is of any significance where the worth of an individual or a people is concerned.

In yet another "Stray-Thought" conveyed in the same book we read the following:

> "All nations accuse us of fanaticism. I admit the charge—I go further and say that we are justified in our fanaticism. Translated in the language of biology, fanaticism is nothing but the principle of individuation working in the case of a group. In this sense, all forms of life are more or less fanatical and ought to be so if they care for their collective life. And as a matter

of fact, all nations are fanatical. Criticise the Englishman's religion, he is immovable; but criticise his civilization, his country or the behaviour of his nation in any sphere of activity and you will bring out his innate fanaticism. The reason is that his nationality does not depend on religion; it has a geographical basis—his country. His fanaticism then is justly roused when you criticise his country. Our position, however, is fundamentally different. With us nationality is a **pure idea:** it has no **material basis.** Our only rallying point is a sort of mental agreement, a certain view of the world. If then, our fanaticism is roused when our religion is criticised, I think we are as much justified in our fanaticism as an Englishman is when his civilization is denounced. The feeling in both cases is the same though associated with different objects. Fanaticism is patriotism for religion; patriotism, fanaticism for country".

In view of the Modern conception of nationality as advocated by Islam, what would Iqbal have said about the implications of the State we have established? Our State is definitely a nation-state founded on the idea of territorial nexus by which our people live in a definite portion of earth's surface. The Citizenship Act of Pakistan, seen in the light of the relevant constitutional principles, seems to highlight the territorial concept of nationhood inasmuch as all non-Moslems who were living in the territory on the eve of partition are acknowledged to be Pakistani citizens and, what is more, all Moslems not belonging to Pakistan cannot, merely because they are Moslems, have the entitlement of Pakistani citizenship. This is as it should be. There are various historical reasons in support of this, and it is not necessary to go into them here, to defend this concept of state. And even Iqbal would, I daresay, have defended the conception of state that we see reflected in the present constitutional set-up of Pakistan. But Iqbal would have imposed at least one important condition upon his approval of the conception of the state of Pakistan—and that is that it must make the establishment of the spiritual unity of mankind as its goal and any attempt to deify the state to a point where, far from ministering to this purpose, it tends to obstruct this aspiration ought to be condemned.

A few words by way of an explanatory footnote to this thought are necessary and have to be offered in order to clarify the concept of state in Islam.

Commenting on the "nationalist" theory of the state sponsored by Western publicists, which separates the church from the secular affairs, Iqbal has remarked:

> "The state, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles (principles which have the essence of *Tauhid*, as the working idea, namely, principles of equality, solidarity and freedom) into space-time forces, an aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation. It is in this sense alone that state in Islam is a theocracy," not in the sense that it is headed by a Representative of God on earth who can always screen his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility.

Similarly, he examined the concept of the state advanced by Turkish publicists and observed:

> "Truth is that the Turkish nationalists assimilated the idea of separation of the church and the state from the history of European political ideals. The primitive Christianity was founded, not as a political or civil unit, but as a monastic order in a profane world, having nothing to do with civil affairs, and obeying the Roman authority, practically in all matters. The result of this was that when state became Christian, state and church confronted each other as distinct powers with interminable boundary disputes between them. Such a thing could never happen in Islam; for Islam was from the very beginning a civil society, having received from the ***Qur'an*** a set of simple legal principles which, like the twelve tables of the Romans, carried, as experience subsequently proved, great potentialities of expansion and development, by interpretation. The nationalist theory of the state, therefore, is misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism which does not exist in Islam". (See his lecture on "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam").

After reviewing the ideas presented by religious reforms and, in particular, the role of *Ijtihad* in the reconstruction of Islamic society, as it was fulfilled by the Grand National Assembly, he sums up the position in the world that follows:

"For the present every Moslem nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself also until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolic overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free and independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations. It recognised artificial boundaries and racial distinction for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its principles".

I have quoted extensively from Iqbal, not because what he had said about the theory of the State is so very distinctive or original as what he says would seem to be Islam, but because for us his words in Pakistan carry unique authority which is all their own: after all, he has been regarded by all knowledgeable persons as a diligent crusader in the cause of that intellectual revolution which was responsible for the formulation of the demand of Pakistan. It would seem, from what I have said so far, that Iqbal would accept the State of Pakistan, as it has been established within the present framework of the constitution and the law that has been evolved and applied to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, provided we regard our polity as an **interim** phase of a historical movement towards the creation of a supra-national synthesis of mankind, which is the aim of Islam to augment and accelerate.

4

What shall we say about the comparative advantages of founding nationalism upon the premises of racial, linguistic, territorial affinities of a group of people, on the one hand, and upon the spiritual origin, aspiration and destiny of mankind, on the other? The question has to be asked only to be answered in the way Arnold Toynbee, one of the greatest historians of our time, has answered it. The western type of nationalism has been viewed by him as the outcome of a perversion of Industrialism and Democracy through the impact of new forces upon the old institution of parochial sovereignty and

he goes on to denounce it as "the disastrous corruption poisoning the political life of our modern society". Rupert Emerson, commenting on Toynbee's approach, sums it up by remarking that Toynbee:

> "......is, if anything, more unhappy about the spread of Nationalism to other parts of the World than about its rise in the East, finding it even less congruent to their needs and circumstances; some part of the accusation of anti-semitism which has been levelled at him arises from his sense of betrayal by the Jews who turned from their proper sphere of religion to the political-nationalist creed of 'Zionism'. Mr. Toynbee charges that Nation is an ill-fitting mould for many of the people who tried to thrust themselves into it and that Nationalism is a limited and self-centered force, falling far short of the universalism which is conceivably man's ultimate destiny".

Naturally enough, if universalism is man's ultimate destiny, ties of race or language or merely belonging to a defined territory, cannot contribute to that universality for the simple reason that these are not themselves universal principles, applicable to all mankind alike. There are different races, men speak different languages and belong to different habitats. Only the declaration that "All are from God and to God is their return" or the declaration that "All are from Adam and Adam was made of dust" can provide a basis upon which mankind can be integrated in oneness of feeling and thinking and action.

(5)

The only other competing ideology that can be considered in the context of Islam's contribution to the creation of a supra-national synthesis of mankind is the Marxian view that 'State' is only an **interim** phase in the historical unfolding of the march of mankind to the goal of establishing a class-less society. And when this will have happened, the state will have withered away. To begin with, the dialectics of historical unfolding are, according to the Marxian teaching, operating only in a material setting. But it is equally clear that the ideal of realising a classless society is incapable of being sustained by a materialistic interpretation of history. Additionally,

the two important Communist Revolutions of our time, the one leading to the establishment of the Soviet State and the other the State of the People's Republic of China, are not even prepared to accept the ideal of combining themselves for achieving the solidarity of the workers of the world. Both of them are mere expressions of Russian and Chinese aggressive and militant nationalism. The ideological impetus that they seem to impart to their domestic organisations is not by any means a primary phenomenon. It is being used as is manure by a gaidener to grow the plants. Not the brotherhood of man but the flowering of the Russian and the Chinese Nationalism would seem to be only the essence but the quintessence of their strategy. Thus it would appear the ideal of class-less society is at best a narrower ideal than the spiritual unity of mankind. And what is more significant is the fact that Marxian philosophy does not even provide to man a trans-historic motivation for its realization. Why should we labour and make sacrifices for establishing a class society, the more so when, on a deterministic view of historical change, the ideal is anyhow going to be realised, is a question that can never be answered satisfactorily on the premises of Marxian philosophy. Islam alone, I submit, provides a trans-historic motivation, indeed a transcendental basis for fulfilling the historical obligations of man. According to Islam, we have to realise the Brotherhood of man in Time, since that is the Command of the Lord who is Abiding and Eternal—immanent in History and yet completely independent of it.

The creation of Pakistan itself is an expression of the vitality and vigour of the Islamic spirit to impart to its votaries that sense of **inner belonging and coherence without which corporate living as a community on an enduring basis cannot even be contemplated.** The people of Pakistan, who are welded together by the tie of faith, seem to be progressively moving in the direction of creating an enduring state in which difference of language, tradition, custom and colour are bound sooner or later to get submerged under the impact of a higher loyalty to the Divine Purpose.

(6)

Pakistan's creation has evoked lively reactions in the contemporary sociological literature and, by and large, it has come to be

regarded as an unusual phenomenon indeed. Of this type of writing, I would like to cite the view of Rupert Emerson by way of an example. Says he in his book entitled 'From Empire to Nation', (published in 1960 by the Harvard University Press) :

> "Of the more recently created nations, the most striking and extraordinary case is that of Pakistan where a nation which almost no one had foreseen, and few could credit in advance as even a possibility, came into being virtually overnight through its own assertion (or that a small number of leaders) that a nation existed which had not been there yesterday morning. By the accepted criteria of nationhood it was obvious that there was in fact no such thing as a Pakistan nation; three or four decades ago even the present Pakistanis or their immediate predecessors did not conceive themselves as a nation except occasionally, perhaps in a mere metaphorical sense. Yet once the assertion of nationhood was made and accepted as a living reality by the people concerned, the fact, that it confounded the theorists, was a matter of singularly little relevance". (See p. 92).

The birth of Pakistan may well be described, in the context of the ideas we have been considering, as the triumph of the spiritual principle, of which I have spoken, in its encounter with the western ideas of nationalism. Says the same writer :

> "It may well be that the really significant question is not whether Pakistanis are to be regarded as a unique sample of a nation, nor rooted in a traditional territory but whether, they should rather be seen as a religious community, allocated within the boundaries of India which, in the modern vien, is sought to be transformed into a nation. It is, of course, of crucial importance that the religion they professed was Islam which is not merely a body of religious beliefs set besides a separate secular existence but an all-embracing way of life, leading itself to the creation of a distinct people. The Indian National Congress took essentially the territorial position that all established inhabitants of India constituted the Indian Nation, the Muslim League asserted the personal communal basis of the nation they claimed to represent. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, one of the principal forerunners of the drive for Pakistan, explicitly repudiated the

Western concept of the nation as a territorially defined country, holding the latter incompatible with both Islam in general and the special position of Islam in India. Yet the concrete political ends of the Indian Moslems necessarily included a fixed territory as the earthly foundation for this state". (See p. 107).

This triumph of the spiritual principle in carving out a Nation, despite the visible evidence that the emergence of Pakistan provides, has not yet been fully acknowledged. Said Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister in December 1955, while travelling in Kashmir as a guest of India, that religious passions had been deliberately stirred up by the Imperialists and that "religious beliefs have never been the main questions in setting up a state".

(7)

The historical background, which is a matter of recent public history, in terms of which the emergence of the State of Pakistan is to be accounted for, I submit, can also in its turn, offer the guidlines we need for stimulating its future development. The more State of Pakistan is anchored in its original historico-sociological habitat, the more it stresses the primacy of the moral, mental and spiritual categories, the more it reflects the catholicity and the universal outlook of Islam, the more will its flowering be in accord with the original impulse that called it into being. The conventional approach, in terms of which the progressive development of the secular states of modern West is attempted to be explained, is really out of focus when it comes to comprehending the inner dynamism, the vitality and the vigour of the State of Pakistan. The economic factors that are so often believed by Western writers to be decisive in the shaping of modern States are no more than merely one out of the many aspects of what, after all, is one indivisible creative process which is at work in bringing about social changes, and anyone who means to emphasise these factors to the exclusion of the moral and the spiritual factors as, for example, is done by the Marxists, as even by the intellectual leaders of the so-called freedom-loving countries of the world, is apt to involve national development of any self-respecting people in a wasteful friction. Whatever else it is, at least the national life of a people is an indivisible whole. When some of the human faculties are developed at the expense of

others, we have a phenomenon of disproportionate development which may bring about disintegration of the individual.

"We know very well in the field of child psychology", says a recent sociologist, "that a child may develop intellectually with extreme rapidity while his moral judgment and his temperament remains at an infantile level".

The same is equally possible in the life of social groups. If such an unevenness of total development is dangerous for the individual, in society it must sooner or later lead to a catastrophe. Where the technological and scientific knowledge advances in a given society beyond its moral resources and spiritual insights, the resulting disproportion is apt to create a situation in which there would be no moral exercise of power that is acquired by technological and industrial development. This would lead to chaos. Mere "material progress" by itself means nothing to man. Even those who believe, as do the Marxists, in only "matter and motion" cannot go forward without commitment in some ideal. Harold Laski, who was by no means unsympathetic to the appeal of communism, had reached the conclusion about 30 years ago that "Communism has made its way by its idealism and not by realism, by its spiritual promise and not its materialistic prospects".
[See his Communism, New York, p. 250, Henry Holt Co.—1927].

In emphasising the primacy of the moral and spiritual categories of life, it must not be understood to mean that I am pleading for the neglect of the material and the economic factor in the strategy of national development. All I am saying is that several facets of human society—material, moral, mental, spiritual—have all to be harmoniously developed, and this is rendered possible if one thinks of the harmonious development of human personality as a matter of primary concern if only because this attitude would inevitably find its expression in the harmonious development of a given people.

(8)

How is Pakistan to fulfil its historical mission is answered best if, on the basis of priorities, we set forth the following as constituting the main items on the agenda of its national endeavour:

(1) Pakistan has to become a symbol of the values it stands for : for, here as elsewhere, no one can directly help another except by providing an example. In the world of today there is a clash of competing ideals and ideologies. Pakistan ought to be able to provide, in its internal set-up and operations, a solution to the dilemmas of the age in which we live. The dilemma between capitalism and communism, between individual liberty and totalitarian state control, between rights of the individual and the regulatory power of society to confine the expression of those rights within the framework of national purpose, etc: all these are capable of being resolved by an appeal to the principles of Islam. Islam, I submit, does provide a solution of these problems.

Pakistan's internal health and vitality will be best evidenced by the way in which it resolves all those conflicts which are currently raging all over the world. Both the life of the individual and the collective life of the community are taken care of by the Moslem ideal. The function of the Islamic way of life could be seen in two directions :

(a) In the life of the individual's purification and his self-controlled behaviour, as it is fostered by the instructions like prayer and fasting and the giving away of one's wealth as measure of love for one's fellowmen and

(b) in the total life of humanity as symbolised by the congregation of all those who, from diverse parts of the globe, annually assemble on the eve of pilgrimage in the holy land at Mecca. Such a community of believers who practise these ideals and respond to the concept of *Ummate Wusta* form a spiritual fraternity—it avoids the extremes, endeavours to reconcile claims of human individuality with those that the life of the whole mankind, regarded as a social synthesis, makes upon its component members. It is such a community of believers that becomes a torch-bearer of human evolution.

(2) The question of securing the internal health, vitality and vigour of a society is something vastly different from having a society in which there is so much of externally induced conformity with

a set pattern of behaviour that it shows up the stability and peace of a graveyard. Islam is an enemy of regimented society, for, did not the Prophet of Islam say that 'differences in the view-point of members of my community are signs of its health'. In the name of public order or economic progress, we should not be eager to devitalise our people by constantly robbing them of their initiative, for true order is not a matter which is to be imposed from outside but has to be realised by organising an equilibrium of the very forces that are operating in the heart and soul of the members who compose a free society. It is only the free people who can contribute to the upkeep of an enduring and lasting civilization. A democratic method of organising society is not a luxury but a necessity. A man who has not realised this truth is out of step with history. As the process of democratisation becomes more extended in a given society, it becomes increasingly difficult to let masses remain in their former state of ignorance or apathy. Either one desires their creative participation in the life of the community, in which case one must attempt to bring every one to more or less a similar level of understanding, or one must reverse the democratising process itself by denying them right to be free—which, indeed, is what the dictatorial parties of the left are of necessity attempting to do. A perceptive sociologist of the eminence of Karl Mannheim has stated the position upon this crucial issue with that measure of consummated skill and ability which we associate with him. Says he :

> "The only way in which dictatorial solutions to social crises can be permanently successful is by centralising the control of individual will. The ıeal problem, however, is to know how far these attempts are counter-acted by the conditions of life in modern industrial society. It is difficult today to draw up a balance of forces working for and against the progress of this democratising apparatus of society, as described by Karl Marx or Max Weber—the concentration of the means of production as well as that of political and military weapons—is a growing threat to the dynamic principles of democratisation and brings about the dominance of small minorities under capitalism as well as under communism. In the former, it is apt to lead to political, economic and cultural feudalism, and, in the latter,

the intellectual and executive tend to become bureaucratic to the last degree".

He goes on to add :

"The concrete difference between individualistic organisation of the liberal epoch and the organisation of the present and immediate future is not primarily to be found in that great efficiency of modern division of labour as in the formation of new interest groups. These factors are undoubtedly very important, but in its consequences the creation of an almost caste-like bureaucratic order will, in the long run, be more important and more penetrating than any of these factors—as a mediator between conflicting social groups or as the ally of certain classes. The bureaucracy, as an indispensable new functional unit, will know how to establish its ranks to outsiders even to the point of making its offices hereditary".

That is why it is said: The road to serfdom is paved by paternalistic governments. A government that sets out to take 'too much' care of its citizens virtually makes them fall in love with the very crutches it provides to them to walk with. And they are then crippled for life. A society that is thus organised cannot think, cannot feel; it can only obey the orders without even understanding them.

(3) Over and above this method of securing democratisation of society one has to take notice in our day of the growing interdependence which is observable between man and man, between groups and groups, be it within a given society or between nations and nations in contemporary international society. The days of isolation are gone, never to return. We have perforce to become our brother's keepers—for, indeed, his state of body and mind affects us far more decisively than it would have done a hundred years ago. Today the only way of saving oneself is to save one's neighbour, or any infection—physiological or psychic—in his house will not take long to spread to our own. At one time it may have been proper policy to wish your neighbouring state ill, but now it is necessary that one must fervently **pray** and if possible **work** for the peace and prosperity in the neighbouring state, and this for the

simple reason that the chaos from across one's border is apt to engulf, not only the people belonging to that foreign state, but also all the peoples of its neighbouring states. This is an awful thought, considering the fact that the concept of 'neighbourhood' itself has changed. Almost everybody has become the neighbour of every one else. Physical distances have lost their meaning. The words "near" and "far" mean nothing significant in the context of modern methods of communication, transport and the logistics of military weapons and equipment. We are thus all implicated in the fate of one another—and this is being asserted, not on the basis of some high-sounding philosophy or by making an appeal to the words of wisdom that have issued forth from high-minded souls, but essentially and fundamentally in the interests of our own survival. It is now useful to think of others, of their problems. At one time Tolstoy could ask "What is the good, of becoming good in the world" and could get no satisfactory answer. But today the answer is too plain to admit of any doubt—one has to be good in order to survive! That is why man has begun believing in co-operation instead of cut-throat competition as he did at one time under the stimulus of Darwinian philosophy.

(4) Regional co-operation is beginning to acquire considerable significance so much so that support to it has been construed as a historical imperative of our time. The move sponsored by Pakistan to secure regional co-operation between its neighbouring countries, is in accord with the grammar of the age in which we live. Our partnership with peoples of the world who believe in the higher graces of life and in the ideal of the brotherhood of man is a step forward in the direction of realising the Moslem ideal. The more Pakistani people strive on this road to secure greater and larger synthesis of the peoples of this region and march forward with them in the language of the Holy Book "in the way of God in crowds," the more they will have reflected the Moslem ideal. At a date that is not far let us hope it will be possible to have in the R.C.D. countries like Afghanistan, all the Moslem countries of the Middle East and the Northern Africa—as also the States abutting on the eastern flank of Pakistan, like Malaysia, Indonesia, etc. When different people begin to work together for the achievement of proximate goals, they learn to trust one another with the eventual result that they also begin to participate with confidence in the

general enterprise of the human spirit to the end that the "brotherhood of man" will no longer be the dream of visionaries but a fact of a day-to-day life.

(9)

The historical role of Pakistan, as I see it, is thus to become a triumphant missionary in the cause of realising the Moslem ideal, of founding the brotherhood of man upon the premises of the moral, mental and spiritual aspirations of mankind. It is only when we Pakistanis cease to involve ourselves in the narrow and crude sense of the expression called "enlightened national self-interest" and begin to think primarily and fundamentally of our larger commitment to our destiny that the stupendous forces that are lying locked up in our inner being will be released; and it is the outpourings of this hitherto untapped inner energy in the world of outer circumstances which will liberate man and give to him the status and dignity which can be his. Here, as elsewhere, it is by renouncing the immediate, the narrowly conceived national purpose in favour of the larger and the distant goal of realising the spiritual unity of mankind that essential progress would be registered by us. No wonder, God in the *Qur'an* categorically enjoins upon man the truth: "You cannot approach righteousness unless you give up that which you love the most". All greatness is born of the scorn that a man or a nation shows to whatever be the consequences of doing the right and upon the relentless pursuit of what one considers is right and reasonable, is the foundation of real human greatness to be laid.

(10)

In what I have said so far I have been surveying the all-embracing character of the Moslem ideal and have been viewing it principally from the point of view of its historical relevance to the people of Pakistan. Whenever I contemplate the philosophical validity and the pragmatic appeal of the Moslem ideal, I am truly moved. In placing this ideal before man how much has not the Prophet of Islam done for mankind! Verily, he has brought man out of the abyss of darkness into the world of light, precisely by giving to him the inner resources by which he can fulfil God's law on earth.

And yet the contrast between the professions of Moslems all the world over and their practices does present such a sorry spectacle in the landscape of contemporary world! So far as the contribution that Moslem nations are making to the growth of human culture and its civilisation is concerned, what is there to say? One has to bend one's head in shame. It is not the general wickedness of the Moslems which is a point of deep concern with the lovers of Islam—it is, on the other hand, really our ignorance, our apathy and indifference which is so alarming.

The two vices that in my reckoning have mercilessly attacked us are greed and vanity. I suppose both of them are aspects of one and the same psychological trait—a disposition which is born of our refusal to see the claims that our very constitution as servants of God makes upon us. The Holy Book has, in unmistakable terms, drawn our attention to the pitiable plight of the man who wants more and more. Like the sea-water—of the good things of life, the more he drinks, the more he is thirsty. The words used by the Holy Book are poignant indeed:

"Abundance draws you until you come right into the grave".

The manifestations of this monster of greed that has possessed our souls are there for all to see. Similarly, vanity, pride arrogance which are "satanic" traits, have infested us. Satan, according to the Holy Book, claims about himself wherever he goes : "I am best amongst you all". We too are working in his grand tradition of Pride and Disobedience. Not until man combats the two vices, I have referred to above, namely greed and arrogance, would he ever be in a position to reflect the Moslem ideal. No wonder, all over the Moslem world, despite our protestations to the country, the 'universal' in religion—thanks to our follies—has been given to bow down to tribal gods and alas, in the words of the Holy Book, we have reached a point where we have taken even our lower passions as our gods.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
12 August, 1971.

PROF. DR. J. CH. BURGEL

ON behalf of the Goethe-Institut, Karachi, let me thank Hamdard National Foundation for organising this lecture tonight within the frame work of Sham-i-Hamdard, *a scientific event known all over the country. We had planned to co-sponsor a lecture with Hamdard National Foundation for a long time ever since Hakim Mohammed Said had kindly consented to be chief guest at an Iqbal Day Celebration of the Goethe-Institut in* 1970. *I am pleased to see this idea materializing today with Professor Dr. J. Ch. Burgel's lecture on "Psychosomatic Aspects in the Medical Therapy of Medieval Islam".*

Professor Burgel was born in Germany in 1931. *He studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish at the University of Frankfurt. At the same time he learnt how to play the organ and studied medicine for one year. In* 1956, *Mr. Burgel held a scholarship for studies at the University of Ankara. He spent several months in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Afterwards he continued his oriental studies at Bonn and Frankfurt. In* 1959, *Mr. Burgel became an assistant lecturer at the Seminar for Arabic Studies at the University of Goettingen. He received his Ph.D. degree (Dr. Phil.) in* 1960. *In* 1966, *a study tour sponsored by the German Research Association took him to Beirut, Istanbul and Bursa for the study of ancient manuscripts. In* 1968, *Burgel qualified as a professor with his thesis "Studies on Physicians' Life in the Islamic Middle Ages". Dr. Burgel is now Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Bern, Switzerland.*

Hilmann von Halem
Director,
Goethe-Institut, Karachi.

PSYCHOSOMATIC METHODS OF CURES IN THE ISLAMIC MIDDLE AGES

Prof. Dr. J. Ch. Burgel

AS is well-known, there is a certain set of interrelations and interactions between man's body and soul and it is this interdependence, in recent days usually labelled "psychosomatic", that forms a base not only of religious but also of manifold medical theories and practices. Bodily reactions to psychic incidents or proceedings are part of our daily experience. We shake with fear, lose colour for dismay, or blush with shame. Fright may stiffen the limbs of our body; or turn the black colour of a young person's hair into the white of an old man's.

Physicians know the importance of the belief factor in the process of healing. The patient's believing in the efficacy of a treatment or medicament is perhaps as important as its actual effect, or even more than that, such belief may turn medicaments which by modern standards are inefficacious or even harmful into successful ones, as it is generally the case with amulets and charms. Psychic sufferings and conflicts may turn into physical ones, and modern medicine has eventually realized that unconscious conflicts, repressed wishes and urges can produce organic complaints as well as mental ones. Man's soul, at one time object of guard and guidance, sometimes also of exploitation by priests and theologians, has in our days, become a more and more medical matter. Psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy, psychopathology, psychosomatic—the scientific care for man's soul is a fashion and a symptom of our days.

But the experience with these psychosomatic facts is old, as old as the healing art itself. The medicine-men's and the magicians'



PROFESSOR DOKTOR J. C. BURGEL

practices are based on this experience and the Greek and Arab medicine incorporated it into their scientific systems.

The following comments will show in what degree and forms this psychosomatic approach has played its part also in the Islamic Middle Ages.

The following points will occupy us here :

(a) The role of psychosomatic facts in everyday dealings of the physician with his patients.

(b) The question of the physician's competence for sufferings of the soul.

(c) The treatment of melancholia.

(d) The factor of faith as a therapeutical element.

(e) The making use of psychosomatic interrelations in the healing of bodily sufferings, by arousing fear or shame.

A. The role of psychosomatic facts in everyday dealings of the physician with his patients

The great medical men of the Islamic Middle Ages knew that the physician has to persuade the patient if the therapy is to be successful. As these persuasions begin with their outward appearance, physicians esteemed the so-called testament of Hippocrates, wherein the rules for the physician's demeanor are given under this aspect. It says among other things :

> "The cut of his hair be well proportioned, he is not to be bald-headed, but neither is he to let it grow moppy; he is not to cut his finger-nails excessively, neither should he let them grow longer than his finger-tips. His clothes be white, clean and lithe; he is not to hurry, because this means thoughtlessness, neither is he to drag, as this indicates mental sluggishness. When he is called to a sick person, he ought to sit down solemnly and inform himself calmly and with deliberation, not with restlessness and excitement".

The prescription to ask the patient only what is absolutely necessary serves the same purpose as these instructions. A good

physician recognises most things without asking, solely by examination, specially by the uroscopy of which the medieval patient expected wonders in diagnosis and prognosis.

A physician asking too many questions was liable to rouse doubts about his qualification with critical patients.

Other things too belonged to the everyday psychology of the physicians. He had to see to it that bad news, for instance the death of a friend or a commercial failure, were concealed from the patient. In fact, the consideration of the sick man's psyche goes even further. Of Galen originates the admonition to remove everything out of the sick-room which could be disagreeable to the patient—pictures, wall-papers, flowers—every allowance as to the colours and flavours ought to be made to the patient's personal taste.

The idea, that certain psychic effects are produced by sensual perceptions, was expounded further by an Arab physician of the 13th century, named Badruddin Muzaffar. In his book "*Mufarrih an-nafs*", he discusses how the perceptions of each sense—colour, fragrance, taste, sound and touch—affect the soul. We shall refer to this work in connection with the treatment of melancholy.

For the time being, we remain in the sick-room. To the measures serving the patient's state of mind belong also such as could appear objectionable. Thus, the practitioner is to make allowance, as far as possible, for the patient's desires and dislikes regarding the dietetic prescriptions. At any rate, a strict regimen must not lead to the patient's beginning to hate his doctor or stopping to eat at all. On the contrary, the physician has to tend, by a certain indulgence with regard to diet, to acquire the patient's trust, so that this one obeys the decisive prescriptions. This practice, recommended by Galen, is explained by Razi in a small paper, the circumstantial title of which expresses the idea as follows :

> "Epistle to the physician on how to proceed ingeniously and tactfully in order to let people attain the appeasement of their craving, in asmuch as the damage befalling them thereby is inferior than the one ensuring from the repressions of the desires, and that he is not to compel them to renounce those".

Another charge advanced by Razi in his small treatise *At-tibb al-Muluki*, (the Royal Medicine) is in line with this, namely that distasteful drugs be coated or mixed with savoury substances; this too serving the purpose of keeping the patient in good humour.

Here also he longs, that the physician, on his leaving, always encourages his patients, even when, to all probability, there is no more hope.

B. The question of the physician's competence for sufferings of the soul

Not only with the keeping up of the patient's spirits had the physician to prove his psychological skill, the Greek medicine and in its wake the Arabian and Persian, demanded more of the physicians. He ought to be a leader of souls, and this in the following regard: The essential idea of Greek and Arabic medicine is symmetry, in Arabic *Ei'tidal*. Health is based on the equilibrium of the temperaments, the mixture of the humours, the *Ei'tidal al-mizaj*. The maintenance of this equilibrium requires a series of vital factors, the '*Umur ḍaruriya*, likewise to be kept in balance.

Accordig to Ibn Sina and other great medical men, these '*Umur ḍaruriya* are the following:

> The climate, food and drinking, sleeping and waking, motion and rest, sexual intercourse and psychic actions as joy or grief, ire and leniency, etc.

Hence it is evident that the healthy conduct of life is closely connected with ethics, as the idea of symmetry is also the central point of the philosophical ethics of Aristotle. But who tells men how much sleep, food, exercise, how much joy or wrath is beneficial to them. The answer is not as easy as one would think; it depends on the period of life, of individual factors as the profession, on the dwelling place, on the individual humours, among other things. Only the competent physician is able to give information.

Thus, it is understandable, that already medical men of the antiquity and later on these of the Islamic Middle Ages claimed to

be at the same time philosophers. Galen wrote a paper: "Concerning the fact that the excellent physician is at the same time a philosopher".

Above all—with this we come back to our point—there resulted from the doctrine of symmetry the physicians' claim to their competence not only for bodily but also for mental welfare. This theory not only says that the body is influenced by emotions. Excessive grief makes thin, lasting joy thick—the mental sensations are—on their part—functions depending on the body. It is again Galen who treats of this interrelation in an essay entitled: "That the powers of the soul are dependent on the mixture of humours".

However, the doctors' claim of being competent not only for the body but also for the soul, was not uncontradicted. The philosophers felt themselves threatened in their competence. The controversy begins in antiquity and continues in Islamic times, where occasionally theologians too appeared in order to point out to the physicians that their domain is only the body, not the soul of men.

I must confine myself to quote a few instances for both sides. The doctors' claim manifests itself to some extent in the titles of their treatises. Thus, Abu Zaid from Balkh wrote in the 3rd century A.H., a *Kitab, Masalih al-abdan wal-anfus*, Ibn Gumai' in the 6th century A.H., a *Kitab, Al-irsad li-masalih al anfus wal-agsad.* Other authors came to speak of this claim in a more or less polemic form; Ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari says in the introduction of his famous *Firdaus al-ḥikma*; (Paradise of Wisdom): Only the physicians are in a position to help man to the *Ei'tidal al-mizaj* (equilibrium of temperament) because they specialize in the guidance (*siyasat*) of bodies and souls. And Ishaq b. 'Ali sar-Ruhawi, author of an interesting treatise with the title "*Adab aṭ-ṭabib*" (The Physician's Education) rates medicine higher than philosophy, arguing that philosophy is only able to help the soul, whereas medicine cures the body and the soul. In opposition to this, Farabi, in his "*Fusul al-madani*, (Aphorisms of the Statesman) to cite only one antagonist,—differentiates clearly between the *mu'alij*, the one who cares for the bodies (*al-abdan*), as he defines the physician, and the *mu'alij*, the one who cares for the souls (*al-anfas*) who, for him, is the philosophic head of the state.

The controversy, however, is due in a certain degree to lacking terminological elucidation. " Soul ", for the philosopher, is not necessarily the same as for the physician. If the philosopher, for instance Farabi, speaks of mental unbalance, that ought to be healed by philosophy, he means above all moral deficiencies, such as jealousy, wickedness, cowardice and so on, while the physician primarily thinks of melancholy or mania, as we shall see later.

Thus, many a medieval physician of the Islamic world fought a good battle for healing and keeping healthy man's soul. And it was not philosophy that finally outstripped them in this struggle but superstition. Mental sufferings were considered as provoked by *djins* and treated with conjurings and amulets. However, here we will speak of the psychotherapeutical practice and the psychosomatic methods of the rational physicians in the Middle Ages.

C. The treatment of melancholy

In the centre of mental diseases was then, as now, melancholy. The name of this disease is Greek and is based on the above mentioned mixture of humours. Like all sicknesses, melancholy is due to a disorder in the equilibrium of the humours. And which of the humours or chymes causes this disturbance, according to the conception in antiquity, is indicated by the name "melancholia": It is the "black bile".

On this "chyme" and disease a famous Greek physician of the Ist century B.C., Rufus of Ephesus, wrote a fundamental treatise : This work was translated into Arabic. Razi and other great physicians quote it. Yet, its main revision was made by the *Maghribian* Ishaq b. 'Imran who was court physician with the Aglabide Ziyadatallah III at Kairawan. Medieval Arabic scientists praise it as unexcelled. And, indeed, it greatly influenced not only the medical literature of the Islamic world, but also the European one, thanks to the Latin translation by Constantinus Africanus, an erudite physician of *Maghribian* origin who adopted the Christian faith.

The treatment of melancholy recommended by Rufus and his followers was mainly based on drugs. Besides, however, there are psychotherapeutical remedies, particularly listening to music,

and finally, the psychic healing of mania. Let us have some details on those three points.

Firstly, the treatment by medicaments. I do not intend to enter in detail on the compounds of some drugs or their possible effect. Such investigations must be left with the historians of pharmacy. At any rate, it seems an interesting issue in the history of medicine that modern antidepressives and other soul drugs are not so modern an invention as a lay-man might be inclined to suppose but have very ancient predecessors. Already Homer's "Odyssey" speaks of a potion which lets grief fall into oblivion. In the Islamic Middle Ages a famous drug against melancholia was known under the name *Mufarrih an-tafs*, meaning the merry-maker of the soul, and expected to turn grief and sadness into joy. We possess formulae of such drugs, for instance in the above named work which is called after the name of the drugs *Mufarrih an-nafs*. Although we are not in a position to verify entirely each name of the drugs, yet, to the ingredients sometimes belongs a precious metal, gold or silver, or else a jewel, a ruby, for instance. It is worthwhile mentioning that these formulae are classified not only according to the different temperaments of men but also according to the three classes of the Medieval Society types, Middle and Lower class the ingredients being different, according to the different state of these classes. That means that the formulae for the lower class do not contain jewels nor precious stones. The medieval poets, who used to compare the lips of lovers to rubies, found herein the stuff for forming a nice poetical conceit. Only the beloved can heal the melancholy of the lover as he or she after all possesses the ruby needed for the preparation of the *Mufarrih an-nafs*. This is the way Hafiz puts it into rhymes :

> Give me the medicament for the sickness of my heart with your lips, the *Mufarrih* of ruby is in thy medicine chest.

As for the music-therapy, it is likewise very old. With the Arabs the legend goes that the first medical men of mankind were the inventors of the reed-pipe in Phrygia and Mysia. They are said to have healed the sufferings of the soul with their flute-playing and thereby also the physical pains. "This art is lost, nowadays" says Ibn Hindu, an author of the 10th century, in his *Miftah aṭ-Ṭibb*;

(the key of medicine) yet one still knows enough to apply music as a remedy for many a complaint, especially melancholy. The same author says about the influence of music on the soul: "We know that there is a sort of melody and way of beating the drum and blowing the flute and a kind of rhythm which evokes sadness, and that there is another kind evoking joy, one which appeases and relaxes, another which disquiets and oppresses, another which makes sleepless, another which lulls to sleep".

In another passage of his book, Ibn Hindu tells the story of a musician being attacked by a group of enemies. As he carried no weapon, he began to play on his instrument in such a tune that slackens muscles and joints. Thereupon his enemies dropped their arms and could not do him any harm.

We don't know if this story is legendary or real. As a matter of fact, music often was presciibed to melancholics and in this the orthodox prohibition of music was more or less disregarded; as the physicians prescribed wine likewise.

From today's point of view, the treatment of hallucinations seems particularly interesting. Rufus narrates such cases, *e. g.*, of a man who imagined having no head, and whom he cured by ordering him to wear a leaden helmet which by its weight reminded him constantly of the existence of his head—a therapy which Ishaq b. 'Imran at Kairawan also tried successfully.

Galen healed a man who suffered from the fixed idea of having swallowed a snake, procured himself such a one; then he gave the patient an emetic and bandaged his eyes. When he vomited, the snake was manipulated into the vomit and the bandage removed. The patient was convinced of being cured of his pain.

The principle of this therapy which consists in apparently taking the patient's delusion in earnest was seized by the physicians of the Islamic Middle Ages and practised independently in similar cases. Well-known is a case of successful therapy carried out by Ibn Sina and related by Nizami-ye 'Aruḍi in his '*Chahar Maqala*'.

A member of the Buyid-dynasty suffered from the fixed idea of being a cow and refused all food; he even urged his attendants to

have him slaughtered and roasted. The case was brought before Ibn Sina who proceeded as follows : Firstly he transmitted a message to the sick man wherein he begged him to be in good spirits because the butcher was on his way to him; the madman exulted. Soon afterwards Ibn Sina entered the sick-room with a knife in his hand, calling: "Where is the cow, that I slaughter her"? A lowing was the answer. Ibn Sina ordered him to be laid on the ground, his hands and feet bound, then he palpated his body and said: "She is too meagre to be slaughtered, she must be fattened". The sick man thereupon began to eat, put on weight, lost his fixed idea and recovered.

A further case is related by Ibn abi Usaibi'a in his valuable collection of physicians' biographies, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*. The famous physician-philosopher, Ibn Malka, treats a man believing that he is carrying a precious vase on his head and constantly fearing of knocking it down. The doctor acts according to Galen's therapeutical principle as shown in the above-mentioned snake-story. He has the vase described, procures himself one like it and charges his assistant to throw it down from the roof on a pre-arranged sign. The patient having been greeted by the physician, another previously instructed assistant appears and threatens the sick man with a lath pretending to knock the fictitious vase from his head. In the same moment the other assistant throws down the real vase. It falls on the ground before the patient's eyes who, moaning with horror, does not doubt that it is the very vase he supposed to carry on his head. In closing this noteworthy story, the author remarks: "The illusion (*wahm*) had such an effect, that he was cured from his illness".

On the same pages Ibn abi Usaibi'a mentions having written a book on such suggestive healings himself. Unfortunately it is not preserved, so we do not know of other cases of fixed ideas successfully treated in the Islamic Middle Ages. But another form of melancholy and its particular treatment is still to be mentioned here: the lover's grief.

D. The factor of faith as a therapeutical element

We have been talking of suggestion as a means of curing fixed ideas. Suggestion, or, in other words, the breeding and feeding of

certain beliefs in a patient to be cured, was, however, made use of in various kinds of therapies. It played a great role in the equipment of successful physicians and—incidentally, of quacks. An impressive example of how a serious physician might draw on the factor of faith in the therapy of bodily affliction is given in Mas'udi's *Murūg aḍ-ḍahab*. A physician, whose name is not mentioned, treated the Barmakide Faḍl b. Yaḥya b. Khalid who had almost been killed by an arbitrary punishment inflicted upon him by the caliph and consisting of 200 lashes of the whip. The physicians, realising the dangerous state of the injured courtier pretended in front of him that there were only the marks of fifty lashes recognizable on his body. And only after successfully healing the man did he admit having said this for psychological reasons.

Still more remarkable are two cases told by Ibn abi Usaibi'a with regard to how the body is influenced by mental factors; here is the first story:

> "Muhammad b. Sa'id at-Tamimi, a physician of the 4th century A.H., being drunk, once fell from the roof of an inn. The innkeeper had him taken to his room, where he recovered and rode away on business in the morning regardless of a certain sensation of pain for which he had no explanation. Having returned at high noon, he now spoke of his pains to the landlord who then told him of his misadventure and showed him the place of his fall. No sooner had Tamimi seen it, than he cried with pain and had to be attended to by a doctor".

The analogous story of which Ibn abi Usaibi'a comes to think here is :

> "A travelling merchant was bitten in his foot by a snake during his slumber at a resting place. Awakened he touched the aching spot with a moan. One of his companions, however, successfully persuaded him that he had merely caught a thorn when stretching his leg and he further assuaged his pain by feigning to pull the thorn out of his foot. The pain ceased. The company started, but when after some time they came back to the same place the companion undeceived he merchant about the true reason of his pain. The result was that a vehement

pulsation immediately set in his foot and spread out through his whole body until it reached the heart causing the man's losing consciousness and soon afterwards his death".

Ibn abi Usaibi'a comments as follows:

"The reason was that imaginations (*auham*) and mental sensation (*aḥdat*) exerted a strong influence on the body. After realizing that the injury he had received was a snake-bite, he was so impressed by this idea that the remainder of the venom still in that spot started flowing through the body and when it reached the heart it killed him".

It is in line with this astonishing awareness of psychological factors that some outstanding physicians of those times did not hesitate to admit and soberly assess the psychotherapeutical value of questionable medicaments of religious or magic nature that were so fashionable in the Middle Ages that they almost outstripped the scientific methods of healing in the days of decay. Ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari, who, in his *Firdaus al-ḥikma*, specifies all kinds of magic and religious prescriptions, ascertains, when discussing Egyptian talismans, that their efficacy is due to illusion (*wahm*) and that only the *mutawahhim*, that means, a person pervaded by this illusive persuasion, will profit by this kind of remedies. As I implied above, the psychological element is also one of the factors producing the success of quacks. Of this, nobody among the medieval physicians has been more acutely aware than Razi, who in several of his treatises reveals himself as a sort of early sociologist of medicine.

Thus, he points out that the success of charlatans is partly due to their knowing how to obtain surreptitiously their patients' confidence, for instance by "reading out of the urine" the whole past of a patient. The uncritical observer is then induced to believe that this "urine reader" disposes of extraordinary divinatory capacities, while, in reality, he had secretly informed himself on that patient's personal circumstances before producing the show.

Ruhawi, the author of the above mentioned *Adab aṭ-ṭabib* even thinks it possible that certain pseudo-operations, as they used to be practised by vagabond impostors, as e.g. the feigned opening

of an ulcer and removing the pus of it without pain, the quack, after some manipulations producing previously prepared pus-like substances before the eyes of the patient—that such fictitious operations could in certain cases be successful provided that the patient's faith in the healing of his complaint be strong enough.

A counterpart to this may be found in the well-known story of the two philosophers from Nizami's *Makkzan al-asrar*, which is as follows :

> "As they fail to decide by argument which of them is in possession of the one and indivisible truth, they choose to close their dispute in another way. Either of them is to brew a poisoned draught for his antagonist; the truth being with him who survives. While one of the two stages succeeds in neutralizing by a quickly prepared antidote the effect of the poison he defeats his opponent by a magic spell spoken on a rose of his garden or rather by the fear his proceeding had aroused in his rival".

Let me close this section by mentioning that some medieval Muslims did not find any harm in stating that there is a psychological element involved when a prayer for health is successful, and let me quote the following passage by Suyuti, a famous and very prolific scholar of the 15th century, in a work on Prophetic medicine and from the comment on an *Hadith*, wherein the Prophet (peace be on him) prescribes prayer against stomach-ache:

> "First there is the divine command for worship. Secondly there is the psychological aspect, *i.e.* the sufferer will forget his pain in his prayer so that his feeling of pain will grow less and so finally his strength will overthrow the pain and cast it out".

Common to all these statements is the recognition of the body's dependence of the psyche. This is true also for the therapies under discussion in the following.

E. The making use of psychosomatic interrelations in the healing of certain bodily sufferings, by fear or shame

For the man in the Middle Ages and likewise for the one in antiquity the passion of love was a sort of sickness. In Persian

and *Urdu*, *sauda* means melancholy as well as passion. The word comes from *al-mirra as-sauda* which is the black bile, already known to us as the alleged vehicle of melancholy and passion. If this illness is not brought to a close, if the passion is not stilled, the lover loses weight, cannot find sleep, suffers from melancholy and eventually loses his mind and errs around, until death delivers him if no turn to the better occurs. Love-sickness as well as dying from a broken heart is a well-known subject in Oriental literature.

The sole cure for the love-sick is to be united with the lover. Yet, it happens that social circumstances impede this union or render it impossible, or even that the lover must conceal the name of his or her beloved, because by revealing it he or she would run the risk of destroying their love if not of physical danger for either or both of the couple engaged. If this is the case, the environment is often likely not to know the real cause of his illness. And the doctor's art then consists in making the right diagnosis, that is in bringing to light the love and possibly also the name of the beloved being.

Some stories or anecdotes about this very "therapy" are already to be met with in the literature of ancient Greece, whence, by translation into Arabic, they became known to the Islamic people and physicians who took up the ancient thread weaving it into various similar tissues. The best known of those ancient stories is linked with the name of Erasistratos, a famous physician living in the 3rd century B.C. The sole Arabic version, to my knowledge, of this tale is narrated in the repeatedly mentioned *Adab aṭ-ṭabib* and its content in a few words is the following:

> "The heroes of the story are a king, his wife and his son, the names of whom are not mentioned by Ruhawi but from Greek sources may be identified as Seleukos I, Nicator of Syria, his wife Stratonike and his son Antiochus. The son falls in love with Stratonike who unfortunately is the king's favourite among his ladies. Unable to appease his passion, the son, Antiochus, becomes afflicted by more and more curious symptoms of melancholy, the reason of which he, of course, is unwilling to reveal to anybody. Erasistratos, who is called in for treatment soon finds out that there are no physiological causes but presum-

ably psychical ones at the bottom of the illness, which he presently supposes to be the outcome of love-grief. Now to prove the truth of his supposition and eventually identify the object of that mortal passion he orders all young girls and women in the house to defile before the prince while he is feeling his pulse. When the beloved woman passes, the pulsation increases and Erasistratos knows now who the beloved creature is and he also contrives a successful way of persuading the king that he has to renounce his wife in favour of the heir-apparent.

It is this story spread in several versions already in Greek antiquity that has found so many adaptations on Arabic and Persian scenes as reflected in our sources. The best known adaptation is, I think, the one in the *Chahar Maqala*, where Ibn Sina practises such a diagnosis, and the one at the beginning of the *Mathnawi-ye-M'anawi* of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, where a *Tabib-e-ilahi* appears in order to ascertain in this way the true cause of a melancholy, by which the wife of the king of the first story has been afflicted.

In Arabic literature too, in fairy tales and medical anecdotes, this motive is found in a varying setting, but always with the same aspects; a love-sick man who has to conceal his love for some reason or other, is treated by an eminent physician whose usual procedure is to state the lack of physiological causes, then to divine the psychic nature of the affliction and finally by feeling the pulse to discover the name of the beloved. Ibn Sina has described the whole scheme in the *Qanun*. It becomes generally applicable by the physician's causing his patient to think of his beloved through his deliberate mention of names of families and persons, countries, towns, streets and houses, arts and professions, and at the same time feeling the pulse of the patient, thus arriving sooner or later at a positive identification of the adored person. Ibn Sina avows having practised this many times and adds :

"If you cannot find a treatment other than to unite the two in a way sanctioned by religion and law, do it"!

It needs hardly to be said that this diagnosis has nothing to do with psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud, and I would not emphasize this point if it were not asserted sometimes that Freud has had pre-

decessors in the Islamic Middle Ages or that Ibn Sina was an ancestor of psychoanalysis. The difference, however, is above all doubt. The love-sick patients whose secret is elicited from them by the pulse-diagnosis, know the cause of their illness very well. On the other hand, psychoanalysis searches for psychical conflicts of patients unconscious of these conflicts by which their mental and bodily diseases are produced and to cure them by making them conscious of those.

A verse in Ibn Sina's didactic poem on medicine in the section treating the so-called *a'raḍ nafsaniya* or psychic sensations, points out the relation between joy and obesity or grief and emaciation respectively.

An original illustration of this kind of connection is furnished by the following therapy reported by Ibn abi Usaibi'a:

> 'Isa, a councellor of the Caliph Harun-ar-Rashid suffered from obesity. He didn't obey dietetic prescriptions and medicaments didn't help. With the Caliph's explicit approval, the court physician, Abu Quraish, applied this method: He announced to the patient that his illness was incurable and that he would live only a few weeks more. The fright, hereby produced, had the expected effect on the patient. He got thin within a few weeks.

The cases seem to be more frequent where shock or shame are evoked in order to influence cramps. Ibn abi Usaibi'a reports two such cases of the early history of the Abbasids :

> "Zubaida, mother of the Barmakide Ja'far b. Yahya suffered from a pathological hiccup which did not ease and eventually became dangerous to life. Bakhtisu' b. Gibrail cured her by ordering the servants to leave full water-buckets all around the roof of the courtyard. Behind every pail a servant was to sit and upset it as soon as the physician should clap his hands. They did so; a tremendous noise arose which terrified the ill woman. She jumped up and the hiccup was gone".

Better known is the second relevant story :

"A concubine of Caliph Harun-ar-Rashid got all of a sudden a paralysed arm. The physician, Ibrahim b. Bakhtisu', father of the before-named Bakhtisu' b. Gibrail, cured her by stepping up to her in the assembly room in the presence of the royal suite and stretching out his hand towards the hem of her gown as if he were going to lift it".

The same story is reported in the *Chahar Maqala*, though without the historical names. Nizami-ye 'Aruḍi defines this therapy explicitly as *Tadbir-e-nafsani* and indicates as reason for the healing effect that the excitation of shame had produced a rush of warmth which loosened the rheumatic sap.

Of this story too, many Arabic and Persian variations exist but time does not allow me to go into further details.

Another case of shock-therapy is related in the *Chahar Maqala*. Here the treating physician is the great Abu Zakariya ar-Razi and his patient is Mansur b. Ishaq, Emir of the city of Bukhara. The pain is described as articular rheumatism which perfectly paralysed the prince. After having applied in vain several remedies, Razi contrived a combination of physical, medical and psychological therapy. After a prolonged hot bath and a potion for "ripening the humours", he suddently threatened the Emir with a knife, whereupon the lame man "half out of rage and half from fright jumped to his feet," while Razi took to flight in order to tell the Emir from secure distance that he had applied a psychotherapeutical method (*'ilaj-e-nafsani*) to avoid a lengthy treatment. Razi wrote to the Emir: "I provoked you intentionally in order to increase the natural warmth which hereby became strong enough to dissolve the humours already softened by the bath and the drugs".

In striking contrast to the above described therapies of melancholy and fixed ideas, all of which are more or less immediate imitations of methods invented by ancient Greek physicians, no such models seem to exist with regard to the kind of shock and shame-therapy just discussed. These therapeutical methods should, therefore, be esteemed as a 'particularly original achievement of medieval Islamic medicine.

Let us come to the end of our considerations and summarize them by a closing sentence: The physicians of Islamic culture in the Middle Ages show a very alert and subtle mind for the close relationship between body and soul. They herein take up the Greek legacy with adequate apprehension, put new life into it and develop it independently.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
30 October, 1971.

THE REV. JAN SLOMP

I welcome you warmly to the Sham-i-Hamdard *this afternoon. It is a source of considerable elation to me to have to introduce to you the Reverend Jan Slomp of the Christian Study Centre, who has chosen to speak on "The Triangle: Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal".*

The poet, says Plato in the **Dialogues,** *is one who is afflicted with divine madness. Shakespeare, himself the modern age's greatest poet, says that the poet's pen gives to*

". . . . . . . .eerie nothing

A local habitation and a name".

The poet manifests the manners, thoughts and the spirit of the age. But one poet, whom we are considering, Hafiz, was primarily a ghazaleer, and very little is known about him, not even his date of birth. All that we know is that he was born in Shiraz, that his family was possibly Arab, and had migrated eastward from Tawi wa Sarkan, *north of* Nahavand, *the scene of battle between Caliph Omar and the Sassanids. At one place, in his writings, Hafiz has mentioned the death of his wife, at another the death of his young unmarried son, and according to Mirza Farhat Sherazi, this remarkable poet died two years after Timur overran Iran in* 789 *A. H.*

All this ambiguity arises because ghazal *is characterised by its timelessness, that is to say, it is not concerned so much with sociological changes as with reflections on life. Of course the cup of* ghazal *in the long run overflowed: This is already discernible in the poetry of Nazeeri, Urfi, Shirazi and Mirza Abdul Qadir Baidil. What we should not forget about Hafiz is that he is a past master at this art. A superb aesthete and the deepest of panaestheist, he possessed a lyrical gift, the like of which has not appeared on the soil of Iran since. Only Sa'adi shares with him, the facility of moulding the Persian language*

like wax. It was the spirit of emulation against a fellow Shirazi, Sa'adi, that led Hafiz to embellish on Sa'adi's verse :

اگر دشنام فرمائی وگر نفرین دعا گویم
لب لعل شکر خارا جواب تلخ می زیبد

بدم گفتی و خرسندم عفاک الله نکو گفتی
جواب تلخ می زیبد لب لعل شکر خارا

But unlike Sa'adi and Rumi, Hafiz confined himself to ghazal, *and three-fourth of his* Diwan *comprises* ghazals. *The two* Saqi Namahs (Mathnavis), *that he has penned, are the finest in Persian literature, and it is a veritable tragedy that Hafiz should have died at the early age of* 46.

Since Iqbal thought that in keeping with the hadith *of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) about the poet Antara, whose verses he liked because of their moral, the poet should be a reformer he has criticized Hafiz in the* Asrar-o-rumuz. *The trouble with Hafiz, as with great poets in general, is that he is singularly inconsistent. He would in one breath say :*

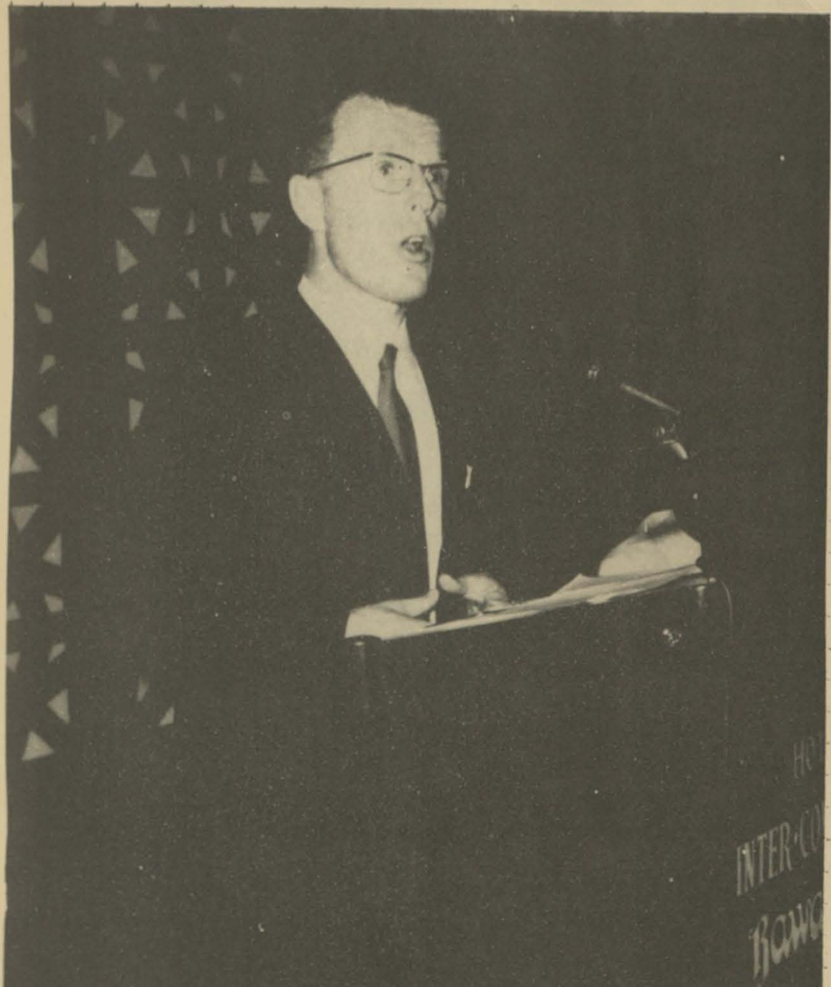
کے بود در زمانه وفا جام و مے بیار
تا من حکایت جم و کاؤس و کے کنم

and in another, overcome by atonement invoke :

از نامهٔ سیاه نترسم که روز حشر
با فیض لطف او صد ازیں نامہ طے کنم

It is true that there is fatalism in Hafiz's poetry, but then the poet lived in an age when the world of Islam was still reeling under the impact of the sack of Baghdad a few decades earlier, and where there was no stability. Iran stood ravaged, and in such an age, the poet could do naught but cry:

بیدار در زمانه ندیدے کسے مرا
در خواب اگر خیال تو گشتے مصورم



THE REV. JAN SLOMP

And so the poet decided to regale himself with Shakh-i-Nabat, *visit Ruknabad and Mosalla, making all of them, immortal. Goethe, a man of extremely catholic taste, himself was all praise for Hafiz and his lyrical poetry betrays Hafiz's influence. While his contemporaries, like Huber and Schiller, drew their inspiration from the Greeks and the medieval European culture, Goethe was more catholic. His catholicity is attested by Faust (Parts I & II); the second part lacks in dramatic value and the force of the concept of the three Unities of Aristotle; but in sheer poetic majesty it far surpasses the first part. Poetic majesty is also reflected in his other works such as The Sorrows of Young Werther, Egmont, Wilhelm Meister's Appren iceship, Hermann & Dorothea etc. It can safely be claimed that few poets have done so much for German as Goethe. A novelist, a poet, a finance minister in the Duchy of Weimar, a superb dramatist dying in the midst of universal respect (Napoleon after the battle of Jena was dying to meet the poet) in* 1832, *he left nothing but admiration. Mathew Arnold says of him :*

> "When Goethe's death was told, we said,
> Dead, then, is Europe's sagest head".

Iqbal was, in many ways, like Goethe. He was a pan-Islamist and adopted both Persian and Urdu *as the languages of expression. He is out of line with conventional poetry, for he foreswore* ghazal *and adopted monologues, vignettes, short pieces,* rubaiyat *etc. for poetizing his views on not life itself but on life as it should be lived. He spurned mere living; worms and insects also live. For him life should have a purpose: this purpose he calls* khudi (selfhood). *Iqbal is unique in this. In his last poem,* Hazrat-i-Insan, *he asks*:

اگر مقصود کل ہوں میں، تو مجھ سے ماوریٰ کیا ہے؟
مرے ہنگامہ ہائے نو بہ نو کی انتہا کیا ہے؟

And so from nationalism, Iqbal moves to Pan-Islamism, and from his perch on the rampart of Islam, he reflects on what should guide a Momin. *The path is very difficult :*

براہیمی نظر پیدا مگر مشکل سے ہوتی ہے
ہوس چھپ چھپ کے سینوں میں بنالیتی ہے تصویریں

یقیں محکم ، عمل پیہم ، محبت فاتح عالم
جہاد زندگانی میں ہیں یہ مردوں کی شمشیریں

Iqbal and Goethe share one prime characteristic: they are both poets of intellect. Goethe progressively becomes abstract, and in **Faust** *(Part II) he achieves the pinnacle of humanism. If Goethe can say :*

"Now the hours are cancelled for thee;
Pain and bliss have fled away;
Thou art whole; let faith restore thee;
Trust the new-born eye of day....
He is crowned with all achieving
Who perceives and then performs...."

Iqbal would also say :

یہ عالم ، یہ ہنگامۂ رنگ و صوت
یہ عالم ، کہ ہے زیر فرمان موت

یہ عالم ، یہ بتخانۂ چشم و گوش
جہاں زندگی ہے فقط خورد و نوش

خودی کی ہے یہ منزل اولین
مسافر یہ تیرا نشیمن نہیں

بڑھے جا ، یہ کوہ گراں توڑ کر
طلسم زمان و مکاں توڑ کر

Goethe was a pantheist; Iqbal was a panaestheist. For both **will** *is one of the supremest of characteristics. Goethe's* **Faust** *gave rise to Nietzsche's superman; for Iqbal, each* Momin *is a superman.*

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے ، بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے؟

Both believe in synthesis: Goethe in the synthesis of modern Europe with Greece, Iqbal in that of modern Islam with its pristine form. This is the basic motif of Iqbal's **Lectures.**

Hafiz does not bring any motif as such. He is swayed by the vagaries of his moods and oppressed by ugliness all around. He builds a facade of insularity, and lives in a castle of beauty, for he spurns the age in which he lives :

آب و هوائے پارس عجب سفله پرورست

کو همرهے که خیمه ازیں خاک برکنم

And so Hafiz's beauty lies in his aestheticism. Walter Pater says that the ultimate in the art of poetry is its aspiration to the condition of music. If this view is held to be an aspect of evaluation, then Hafiz's rank would be extremely high among the major poets of the world.

Our learned Guest Speaker today will be discussing a poet who appeared in the midst of the middle ages, another who lived towards the death of the Age of Reason and bloomed in the Age of Romanticism, and yet another who, through the power of his poetry, made the independence of Pakistan a distinct reality—in fact Pakistan appeared on the map of the world only nine years after the death of Iqbal. And all of them lived in turbulent times; Germany stood disunited in Goethe's time; Iran was fragmented ; and Indo-Pakistan was ruled by an alien people.

Rev. Jan Slomp, our Guest Speaker this afternoon is a citizen of the Netherlands. As an under-graduate he studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Philosophy. In 1960 *he passed the doctoral examination at the Free University at Amsterdam, in comparative religion (mainly Islam). Since* 1964 *he is serving in Pakistan. Editor of a number of Journals, like* Roshan Minar *and* al-Mushir *etc., he has published numerous articles in the field of Church History, ecumenical studies and comparative religions. The profundity of his learning is testified by his choice of the subject of today's address.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

THE TRIANGLE: HAFIZ, GOETHE AND IQBAL

Jan Slomp

THE word triangle in the title has been chosen without any moral, ethical or mathematical connotation. It is simply used as a graphic description of the fact that the Persian poet Hafiz (about 1320-1390) influenced Goethe (1749-1832) and Iqbal (1876-1938) respectively whereas Iqbal himself acknowledges that he was inspired in writing his *Pegham-e-Mashriq* by the German poet.

On the title page of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's well-known poem *The Message of the East*, 1922,[1] we read besides the quotation from the Holy *Qur'an*, '*Allahi 'l-mashriqu wal maghribu* ("To God belong East and West"; 2:142/136) the following sentence,

در جواب دیوان شاعرالمانوی گوئٹے

("In reply to the *Divan* of the German poet Goethe"). In his prose introduction in *Urdu* to the above mentioned work Iqbal wrote: The motivating factor (*muharrik*) to write "*Pegham-e-Mashriq* was the "Western *Divan*" of the German philosopher of life ("*Hakeem-e-Hayat*") Goethe. About him the German Jewish author Heinrich Heine wrote: "This is a confession of esteem which the West has sent to the East. From this *Divan* we receive a testimony of the fact that the West, displeased with its own weak and cold spirituality, seeks for warmth at the bosom of the East".[2] One of the first poems of Iqbal in *The Message of the East* has Goethe as its subject. It starts with the words: " *Pir-e-maghrib shair-e-almanwi*".[3]

پیر مغرب شاعرالمانوی   آن قتیل شیوه هائے پهلوی

Iqbal says, in the preface, that he would have liked to investigate this Eastern movement in German literature, but sources of such research are not available in this country, Hindustan.

As a Westerner, though not a German, I am taking as my starting point the angle assigned in the triangle to Goethe. A full treatment of the subject from every angle would provide material for a series of lectures if not for a book. Moreover, others more competent than the present speaker could deal with the subject from the angle of Persian literature, as, e.g. has been done recently by Dr. J.Ch. Burgel, Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Bern in Switzerland, in a lecture for the National Institute of Modern Languages on the 26th of October 1971.[4] Because of his completely different approach to the subject it was not necessary for me after hearing and reading Prof. Burgel's lecture to make any major changes in the presentation which I had already prepared for this evening.

Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel and Mr. S.A. Vahid have dealt with Goethe's influence on Iqbal; so there is no need for me to repeat or summarize what they have said.[5] I feel, however, that it is in the interest of the cultural exchange between Europe and this part of Asia to try to describe how Goethe came in contact with the world of Islam. It is well-known that Goethe worked all his life on Faust till its final completion not long before his death. We discover a similar development in Goethe's growing interest in the Eastern, more particular the Islamic world. His ideas matured till they received their final shape in his great poetical cycle: *Der West-oestliche Divan*.[6] From the appendix to his *Divan* we can partly reconstruct this maturing process. A few recent publications enable me to add perspective to Goethe's place both in Western as well as in Eastern literature.

Before embarking on this major enterprise it is essential to describe very briefly the important place, Goethe occupied in European culture, as a background and frame of reference for his contacts with the world of Islam. We know a great deal more about Goethe than we know, for example, about Shakespeare, who hides himself almost completely behind his poems, comedies and dramas.[7] Even Goethe's private life, because several romantic relations had given

him the fame of a literary Casanova, inspired authors of books and articles.[8]

Goethe was a universal genius not only German but European. He was one of the first to develop the concept of "world literature". Whether we consult books on literature, philosophy, theology, science, botany, medicine or painting dealing with the latter part of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century, Goethe will be mentioned as a strong intellectual, cultural and spiritual factor. Even in an English Church History one gets an impression of his greatness and importance.

The supreme representative of the late eighteenth century was Goethe. His works clearly reflected many of the tendencies which modified the thought of the period. The amplitude of his mind and the range of his interests made him far more than a leading poet; he was one of the great spokesmen of his time and he helped to fashion the temper of the New Age. His early writings were typical of the Sturm and Drang (Tempest and Turmoil) movement, with its sentimentalism, its emotional confusion and its defiance of convention. After his visit to Italy, classical and even pagan elements appeared in his thought. But fundamentally his outlook tended toward a Spinozan view of nature as "the living garment of God", and this combined with a vague faith (derived from Leibniz) in the divine mission of human life.[9]

Goethe's popularity, however, has fared differently at different times. Sometimes he was *en vogue*, sometimes he was not. When the hero of Somerset Maugham's book, **Of Human Bondage**, Philip Carey visited Germany at the beginning of this century, Goethe was very popular.

It was the period in Germany of Goethe's highest fame. Notwithstanding his rather condescending attitude towards patriotism he had been adopted as the national poet and seemed since the war of seventy (1870 J.S.) to be one of the most significant glories of national unity. [10]

But Goethe is not very popular in Europe these days except with those supranationalists who have rediscovered him as an

inspiring example of cosmopolitan humanism.[11] Real greatness is attractive for every generation though through different aspects and for different reasons. The postwar generation has tried to stress the sceptical rather than the optimistic side of Goethe to make him more acceptable; though in his later years Goethe represented more the anti-revolutionary forces of the restoration period than the radical students associated with Karl Sand, who murdered the Weimarian dramatist Kotzebue (who was not on good terms with Goethe). I sometimes wonder whether many young people who cross the Khyber looking for the secrets of the East might not via Goethe's Eastern poetry be directed towards such great poets as Hafiz, Rumi and Iqbal.

How did Goethe come in contact with the Muslim world. Though he never visited any Muslim country and did not know Persian, Turkish, Arabic or *Urdu*, he travelled in his mind by devouring as many travel accounts as he could collect. Some say that his acquaintance with the pantheistic philosophy of the Dutch-Jewish philosopher Spinoza prepared his mind for mystical poetry. But in the text and Goethe's own *Notes* we do not find justification for this supposition. This philosophy may however have influenced his general world view, or Weltanschauung.[12]

There are in my opinion three main routes (besides the above-mentioned travel accounts) through which Goethe had access to the world of Islam :

1. Via a positive appreciation of the Holy Bible as an Eastern book and an aversion from the pietistic brand of Christianity he experienced in his close environment.

2. Via his own study of German translations of the Holy *Qur'an* and the life of Muhammad and other oriental works.

3. Via studies of Western orientalists.

I want to make a few remarks about each one of them.

1. The Bible and the Pietistic Environment

Goethe was in his own words "*Biblefest*" which means that he had a vast and reliable factual knowledge of the contents of the Holy Bible. Such a knowledge does not qualify or disqualify one's faith as a Christian; it is purely intellectual. In the *Divan* he compares his own relation to the Holy Bible with Hafiz's knowledge of the Holy *Qur'an*, who, as his name implies, knew the holy book by heart. Goethe was born in an urban but pietistic Lutheran environment. One of the men, who opened his eyes to the poetical beauty of the Psalms and other parts of the Old Testament, was Johann Gerhard Herder, the greatest theologian in Germany in those days. Goethe gives an account of his poetical and historical Bible studies in the explanatory part of his *Divan*. He included material which he had prepared some 25 years earlier. Like ıany others he was greatly impressed by the story of the Exodus and particularly by the biblical story of Joseph, which is called in *Sura* 12 of Holy *Qur'an* the best of narratives.[13] Goethe used in his studies methods which would have been labelled "higher criticism" today.

There is, however, also a more negative aspect in Goethe's relationship to Christianity which opened his mind for new impressions from outside. Later in his life Goethe developed an aversion to the pietistic brand of Christianity. Pietism had become a tremendous spiritual power in Germany in the 8th century. It was a strong emotional protest against the rationalism of the enlightenment. This emotionalism we see also reflected in Goethe's **The Sorrows of Young Werther**.[14] Pietism produced a great Christian hymnology, gave impetus to foreign missions and protested against the class system and the social establishment. It was to some extent a subversive movement in the eyes of those who cherished the *status quo*. Goethe's mother sympathized with the movement. Her piety is characterized by what the O.T. calls "the fear of the Lord" (*Yirat Yahweh*, in German *Ehrfurcht*). The word can be compared in importance with the *sufi* concept of *tawakkul* and *taqun*.[15] This concept of *Ehrfurcht* received a central place in Goethe's own reflections about religious development in the days when he wrote his *Divan*. Goethe's conception of the Church was outspokenly spiritualistic.[16] This conception was influenced by Arnold and betrays again the impact of the pietistic

movement on his thoughts. In the fellowship of pietistic brethren he was captivated by a search for the "real", the "original". His sensitive mind even experienced a religious awakening or revival as we learn from a letter to his friend Langer on the 17 of January 1769. "Mich hat der Heiland endlich erhascht". (The Saviour found me at last). In his afterthoughts when the engagement with Friederike, daughter of Pastor Brion did not take place, we find some deeper insight into Goethe's inner conflicts regarding the Christian faith.[17] He felt that the cage of his milieu had to be opened and had to remain open for the rest of his life. In his **Maximem and Reflektionen**, Goethe declared: "I cannot stand preaching—I probably overate of it during my youth".[18] The overemphasis on **Jesusfroemmigkeit**, or Jesus piety, and on Christ's suffering in some mystical Moravian circles and their sometimes exaggerated terminology, created an aversion in his sensitive mind. Part of his aversion we see reflected in the appendix of his *Divan* where he refers in a poem about a necklace with a cross, to the fact that he does not like this sign.[19] Such poems probably were the reason that the *Divan* was not very well received in Germany and is still one of his lesser-known works.

This religious development away from Christianity was of course greatly enhanced by the secular trends and theories of the enlightenment, the renaissance of classicism and Greek humanism. "With ease and comfortableness he makes his own religion," to quote his own words. Part of this "ownmade" religion had a Greek inspiration, for example, when in a correspondence with Graf von Reinhard he defends the sculptors who were shocked by Paul's attack in the temple of Diana of Ephesus.[20] Hardly any Muslim would have difficulty in siding with Paul in this respect. In 1782 he wrote to the theologian Lavater: *Er sei ein dezidierter nicht Christ* ("I am decidedly a non-Christian"). A year before his death he called himself in a letter to Boisseree (22.3.1831) a syncretist.[21]

This detachment from the Christian faith, though not from the Christian heritage, made the great poet more and more open for new impressions from outside.

2. Goethe's First Contacts with the Muslim World

Through translations of oriental books, a biography of the Prophet Muhammad by a certain Turpin,[22] and a rather defective

German translation of the Holy Book of Islam, he got acquainted with the Muslim World. About the *Qur'an* he writes in his own commentary on the *Divan* "It is, however, *not* religion which keeps us far from understanding that (Persian) poetry. The Unity of God, submission to his will, mediation through a prophet, all these things more or less correspond with our faith and our way of thinking. Our Holy Books, though in a legendary way, form the basis of theirs".[23]

As a young man Goethe had made a plan to write three dramas, one dealing with Judaism, one with Christianity, one with Islam. The one on Islam was to have the Prophet Muhammad as its protagonist. But he only made an outline and a few poems. The poem **Mahomet** was later included in the *Divan*. In his autobiography entitled "**Poetry and Truth**" he devotes two pages to this subject.[24] To save time and space I will summarize this very interesting section. A few quotations are, however, essential:

"But as I pursued all observations of this kind to the furthest extremity and looked beyond my own narrow experience to similar cases in history, so there developed within me the plan of representing in the life of Mahomet, whom I have never been able to regard as an impostor, those courses which were so clearly seen by me in actual life, which lead much more to ruin than to salvation. A short time before I had studied with great interest the life of the oriental prophet, so when the thought came to me I was fairly well prepared. The piece begins with a hymn which Muhammad sings alone under the clear sky of night"....

Then Goethe goes on to describe how Muhammad turns away frcm the concepts of the *Arab Ja'iliyyat* and has an experience of God's presence :

"The mind feels it must yet rise above itself: it rises to God the only One, the Eternal, the Absolute, to whom all these splendid but limited creatures owe their existence. I composed this hymn with great warmth of feeling; it is lost, but might easily be restored for the purpose of a cantata, and would recommend itself to the musician by the variety of its expression. But it would be necessary to imagine, as at that time was the intention, the leader of a caravan

with his family and a whole tribe, and so for the alteration of the voices and the strength of the choruses provision would be made. After Mahomet has thus converted himself he communicated these feelings and thoughts to his family. His wife and Ali join him unreservedly. In the second act he himself endeavours, but Ali more vigorously, to extend this faith in the tribe. Here agreement and opposition show themselves according to the difference of character. The feud begins, the strife becomes violent and Mahomet must fly. In the third act he overcomes his enemies, makes his religion the public one, purifies the *Kaaba* from idols....."

In the next section Goethe follows the then general Western pattern of describing the career of Muhammad from Prophet to statesman as one of decline rather than as the one being a natural result of the other.[25]

We should remember that in those days the study of comparative religion had not yet reached the conclusion that every religion should be judged by its own standards, in other words, that differences should be taken seriously, e.g., the difference between the Christian understanding of Christ and the Muslim understanding of Muhammad.

Goethe had not set himself an easy task as he acknowledges himself: "All that genius can effect upon a man of character and intellect was to be represented, and how it wins and loses in the process". "Several songs, which were to be inserted, were composed beforehand; all that remains of them is that which stands among my poems under the title **Mahomet's Song**. "Instead of making his own drama on the life of Muhammad, Goethe translated Voltaire's **Mahomet** from French into German.[26] On these events in the life of Voltaire and Goethe, Prof. H.Z. Ulken, at Ankara University, gave the following comments in his essay: **Influence of Muslim Thought on the West**, which was published in **A History of Muslim Philosophy** (Vol. II, edited by M.M. Sharif under the supervision of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress in 1966):

"This sympathetic attitude towards Islam evoked a strong reaction in Voltaire. He made extremely offensive and insolent statements about Islam and the Prophet of Islam. In his **Mahomet** with

great sympathy and enthusiasm Goethe describes the power of the new faith exalted against idolatry and the sincere adherence of its believers to it. This work of Goethe is in the nature of an answer to Voltaire's work bearing the same name".[27]

In the footnote Prof. Ulken refers to Goethe's **Mahomet** (French translation) (*sic*). As we saw above, however, Goethe never wrote a drama about Muhammad; consequently it could not exist in a French translation. On the contrary, instead of attacking Voltaire or answering Voltaire, Goethe translated Voltaire's drama into German. As we saw in the first quotation above from his autobiography, Goethe wanted to use the biography of Muhammad for a drama to exemplify his own preconceived ideas about the relation between religion and power politics. The least we can say is that Goethe's evaluation of the Prophet of Islam is ambiguous. It is a mixture of great admiration and criticism.

A second observation should be made also. In Voltaire's theater piece he does not have the intention of attacking Islam but he attacks those who use religion for political ends. Voltaire uses this *disguise* to attack the insider in the person of the outsider. This means the attack was aimed at the Roman Catholic Church and its intolerance, and against Christianity in general because of its close association (at least in France) with the state. In his **East sur les moeurs et l'Esprit des nations**, one can discover that Voltaire, the great promoter of the Enlightenment, found much to commend in the precepts of Islam and that he was an admirer of the *Qur'an*.[28]

A disguise similar to that used by Voltaire and to some extent by Goethe, but the other way round, was used by the Egyptian author Kamil Hussein in his famous book **City of Wrong** (A Friday in Jerusalem).[29] In this philosophical novel he criticises the disciples and the Jews in the case brought against Jesus. But the terminology he uses makes it quite clear that his criticism is at the same time aimed at those Muslims in his home country and abroad who use the concept of *'ijma'* (consensus) wrongly.[30]

In conclusion: we may be glad that Goethe never completed his drama about Muhammad. Every drama, whether dealing with

Moses, Jesus or Muhammad is in my opinion bound to become a failure. Not so much because it might tend to hurt the feelings of believers—feelings are a very subjective matter. But the subjects to be treated transcend the very possibility of dramatization. Henri de Bernier's **Mahomet** contains a dramatization of the life of Muhammad. Its performance did not take place because of Turkish protests in 1889. A Muslim in Egypt, Taufiq al-Hakim, tried to do the same in 1936, though his piece was meant to be read rather than to be acted on the stage.[31] He also was not successful. In the Greek heritage that was incorporated into Islam, the dramatic tradition of Athens was not represented. That Goethe did not realize this can be concluded from his surprise expressed in the *Divan* that Persian poetry is mainly lyrical and not dramatical.[32]

3. Goethe and Western Orientalism

Let us turn to the background of the Western *Divan*. The means by which Goethe came in contact with the Arabic and Persian world were not only travel accounts but also Western Orientalism. A few names of Western orientalists should be mentioned in this connection: Sir William Jones (1746-1794), a linguistic genius and judge in the high court in Calcutta;[33] Joseph von Hammer Purgstall, [34] at one time a diplomat in Istanbul, later the founder of a journal **Fundgruben**, in Vienna which preceded the still existing W.Z.K.M. (*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*); von Diez, a German; Silvestre de Sacy, a Frenchman, who should not be confused with de Tassy who translated Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Athaar al-Sanaadid* into French;[35] Kosegarten, who helped Goethe with the translation of the titles in the *Divan* such as *Sakinamah*, *Zuleikhanamah Khuldnamah* etc. and who edited the Hudailiten *Divan*; and Gustav Stickel (1805-1896) who instigated Goethe's studies of Islamic coins.

The immediate impulse to write the *Divan* came from the German translation by the above mentioned von Hammer of the *Divan* of Hafiz in 1814. The Persian text of this book had been made available in print by the Upjohn Press in Calcutta under the supervision of Sir William Jones. Jones himself had tried to translate some of its poems into French verse.[36]

Though Hafiz was the great inspirer of Goethe, other Persian poets should be mentioned also. But Hafiz was no doubt the greatest: "Witness the reverence in which he is held not only in Iran but throughout the East and West as the undoubted composer of some of the world's sublime and technically exquisite poetry". [37]

Western orientalists should receive credit for reviving the interest in Hafiz even in Iran itself.[38]

Goethe did not want to translate or imitate Hafiz. He distinguishes in the *Divan* three types of translation.[39] The first type makes us in our own mind and understanding acquainted with the foreign, alien world. The best medium which serves this purpose is a literary prose translation. It takes the reader by surprise. Luther's translation of the Bible, according to Goethe, had such an effect. But some poetical beauty is sacrificed in this way. The second type is represented by Wieland's translation of Shakespeare. It is characterized by the appropriation of foreign elements as far as it is convenient. The foreign is made indigenous, i.e., Germanized. The third type is what Goethe tried in the *Divan*. The translation completely substitutes the original, takes its place. The translator, if we still can call him so, loses to some extent the originality and identity of his own nation. In other words a universal dimension, world literature, comes into existence. To use a variation of the words of St. Paul, he becomes to the Persians, a Persian and to the Muslims, a Muslim. Before getting acquainted with Persian poetry Goethe had read the *M'uallaqa't*.[40] a selection of the famous pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Goethe's own so called "Arabic poetry", in German form, is found in the appendix of the *Divan*.[41]

The name Hafiz we find very often in the *Divan*, though one of the greater poems addressed to the Persian poet has not been included in the original text of Goethe's *Divan* but has been inserted in a section entitled "the future *Divan*".[42] Did Goethe have plans to make a second volume. If he had, he must have dropped the idea, otherwise he would not have included this poem in the appendix of the present one.

Hafiz has been called by Francesco Gabrieli: "The most brilliant pleiad in the Persian literary firmament". Gabrieli makes the

following interesting observation about Persian poets :

"The voice of Islamic Sufism seems far more appealing in the work of the Persians than in the vast ascetic-mystic Arab literature, which is found in the austere sentences of Hasan al-Basri and the obscure *qasidas* of Ibn al-Farid; all the great minds of the West from Goethe to Hegel who sought to approach this aspect of Muslim spirituality, actually took as their guides not the Arabic ascetics or doctors but the great Persian poets we have just named". [43]

For those who do not know Persian, Arberry and Gertrude Bell have made Hafiz, Rumi and others accessible in beautiful translations. [44]

Muslim Elements in the Western Divan

In my analysis I had the serious handicap that I could not consult studies stored away in German libraries such as carried out by H.H. Schaeder, W. Lentz and Katharina Mommsen. [45] This fact makes my observations vulnerable to criticism, but might also here and there indicate originality, when I, in blessed ignorance, leave the path of the exegetical tradition.

The first poem in the first collection *Moghanninamah*, "The Book of the Singer" is entitled Hegire (i.e. *Hijra*). As Muhammad left Mecca because life there had become intolerable and as many Muslims left India in 1947 because they feared the same, so Goethe travelled East in his poetry, because Europe had become an impossible spiritual climate during the Napoleonic wars.

Nord und West und Sud zersplittern
Throne bersten Reiche zittern
Patriarchenluft zu kosten
Soll dich Chisers Quell verjungen.[46]

North and West and South are crumbling
Thrones are falling, empires are shaking
Flee to the peaceful East
To breathe in the patriarchal air
With love, wine and song
Khidr's fountain will rejuvenate thee.

Chiser is of course al-Khadir 'or Al-Khidr, of *Sura* XVIII (*al-Kahf* vss. 60-82), the servant of Moses, who joins him on his journey to the *majma al-bahrain*, the confluence of the two rivers.[47] The poem entitled **Talismane** (a word derived from the Arabic **Tilsam**) is also inspired by the Holy *Q ur'an* and quoted by Iqbal on the title page of his *Pegham-e-Mashriq*.

Gottes ist der Orient
Gottes ist der Okzident
Nord und sudliches Gelande
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hande.

The next poem could be used by German Muslims as a prayer (*du'a*):

Er, der einzige Gerechte
Will fur jedermann das Rechte
Sei, von seinen hundert Namen
Dieser hochgelobet Amen.

Goethe hopes to refresh the nations as Hafiz did. He expresses in poetical language how Allah gave four special blessings to the Arabs: Turban, Tent, Sword and Song. If he had lived in this century he could have added oil. But the *Moghanninamah* also includes various poems with a Greek theme, i.e., "Dichten ist ein Ubermut" (to make poems) is *hubris* (pride). He prefers, like Firdausi, who as Goethe served at a royal court, the dust on the door-step of his beloved rather than the favour of Mahmud the King. This is clearly a reference to the great epic poet, Firdausi, who did not always get a fair treatment from Mahmud Ghaznavi, the idol-breaker. He explains in a beautiful poem, in the form of a dialogue between himself and Hafiz, the name Hafiz, *Korankenner* ("knower of the *Qur'an*"). He said: "I received a beautiful image in my innermost self from our own Holy Book, an image of clear fath, just as Veronica's hand-kerchief preserved the face of Christ.[48] Tihis verse probably contains a reference in Goethe's renewed interest in Christian antiquities after a visit to the famous cathedral of Cologne. He was concerned about the preservation of old beautiful churches as monuments of culture.

In a following poem he defends Hafiz against those Muslim divines who had accused Hafiz of producing poetry which conflicts with the Holy *Qur'an*. Does this verse perhaps also contain Goethe's own experience in Germany, with those Christians who disapproved of Goethe's increasing alienation from the Christian faith. Those Muslim scholars, we learn, had called the faithful Muslims to their duty and had condemned Hafiz's books to be burned. Goethe wants to share his joy and pain with Hafiz, whom he calls his twin brother. Later Iqbal would talk in the same way about Goethe and himself, being together two matching pearls.[49] Just as in Hafiz's poetry of love, which is no doubt ambiguous, Goethe plays hide and seek in his verses also. He found a defender in the Prince of the Egyptian poets Taha Hussein Bey, whose essay about Goethe was published in 1949 in the UNESCO Memorial Volume, printed to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Goethe's birth. Taha Hussein says :

> "Goethe has been reproached for having misunderstood Hafiz, for the wine whose praises are sung by Hafiz is a mystic wine, and the intoxication that it gives is that of the annihilation in the Supreme Being. That Goethe should have turned this mystic wine into ordinary wine has been censured as shocking, even scandalous. But nothing proves to us that all the Bacchic verse of Hafiz and the other Persian poets is purely mystic; and nothing proves that Goethe's naturalism does not carry the secret trace of some mystic".[50]

Goethe compares the lot of the poet with the children's game called "Gaensespiel": the more one moves forward, that is to a vulnerable position, the closer one comes to places one does not want to be in. Usually the most outspoken Muslim confessions and opinions are put by Goethe into the mouth of others: Hafiz, Firdausi, Rumi and even the Prophet Muhammad himself. The latter is introduced to threaten those who endanger the unique position of the Holy Book and who confuse the people by their teaching. We recognize the Muslim theological tradition in the phrase which makes King Timur (1336-1405) say that Allah has made him as cruel as he is, because he had to fulfil his particular destiny. In those poems and in the attack on Timur's despotism in the commentary we recognize Goethe's own attitude towards Napoleon, whom he met once, just as Hafiz once met Timur. [51]

One poem relates the religious custom of putting a needle or a peacock feather in the Holy Book to find guidance in a particular situation. I was told by friends who visited Iran that Hafiz's own poems are consulted sometimes in this "superstitious" way in that country. I myself have observed similar "magical rites" used to consult the Bible by some pious but uneducated Christians. Goethe must have been aware of similar practices in Germany.

The *Zuleikhanamah* derives its name from Zuleika,[52] which is, according to some traditions, the name of the wife of Potiphar. But Goethe does not call himself Joseph/Yusuf in this cycle of poems but gives himself the name Hatem, probably derived from one of the pre-Islamic poets Hatem Tai.[53] These poems were inspired by a real love for Marianne von Willemer, the wife of his friend in Heidelberg. I have visited the place where Goethe and Marianne had their walks.. Of all women who played a role of importance in Goethe's long life, she was the only one who answered herself in self-made verses. These verses were included in the *Divan*. This secret she revealed many years later, after Goethe had died. She was no doubt a gifted artist and actor. This romance inspired Hans Franck to write his Goethe-novel entitled **Marianne**.[54] Von Willemer and his wife *together* received the first, as yet unbound, copy of the *Divan*. Marianne's husband was 20 years younger than Goethe who was about 65 during this romance. Several biographers have raised the question whether Goethe was not committing a grave sin, or was acting against his own high principles by interfering in the married life of his friend. Raising the question is answering it. To discharge Goethe from this blame I stressed the fact that Marianne was an actress and that she and her husband *together* received the final product of this close poetical cooperation. The romance was for the old Goethe an "Indian Summer". "Und noch einmal fuehlt Hatem, Fruehlingshauch und Sommerbrand" (Only once more Hatem feels the air of spring and the heat of the summer). Once more he feels, we might freely translate *ishq* as "passion". In this cycle the poems attributed to Marianne or Zuleikha are in my opinion more spontaneous than the ones made by Goethe. We do, of course, not know to which extent Goethe rephrased Marianne's work. Goethe's own poems in this section show a certain degree of virtuosity by rather artificially referring to historical events and using terms derived from the Iranian civilization. Goethe knew already while

he was writing that this romance would soon belong to the past :

Eh es Allah nicht gefaellet
Uns aufs neue zu vereinen
Gibt mir, Sonne, Mond und Welt
Nur Gelegenheit zum Weinen.

The theme in the poem "Wiederfinden" (Rediscovery) seems to me to be unislamic when he says: "Allah does not have to create any more, we create His world".

Several diplomats, one of them Reinhard, a German in the French diplomatic service, helped Goethe to get his material from the East. Several diplomats also played a role in obtaining good manuscripts for Western orientalists. The poem "Geheimschrift" (Chiffre-Code) compares love letters to secret diplomatic mail. Symbols such as mirrors, wine and birds who carry the messages from lover to beloved, which are frequently used in Persian mystical poetry, occur regularly in the *Divan* of Goethe. Instead of talking about 99 names Goethe refers twice to Allah's hundred names. In the *Sakinamah* Goethe shows that he is aware of the discussion about the question whether the Holy *Qur'an* is created or uncreated. In his own commentary he seems to be acquainted with the theory about *Nasikh* and *Mansukh* in the explanation of the Holy *Qur'an*.[55]

Pages 81 and 82 of the poetical cycle show that Taha Hussein was right in claiming for Goethe acquaintedness with mystical wine. Goethe speaks about "the best of wine" which should be used and about "goettlichste Betrunkenheit" (divine intoxication). He makes some Muslims say: "We ordinary Muslims have to be sober under the yoke of life. He (the poet) alone, in his holy zeal, would like to be completely out of his mind." De Saki (i.e., the cupbearer) confesses "God's presence in all elements of nature". This is the only "pantheistic" (in Islamic mysticism called the doctrine of unity of being, *wahdatu'l-wujud*) reference I found in the whole book.[56]

It is not possible to mention all the references to Islam in the *Divan*. I only mention the most interesting ones. The stars of heaven and the small letters, the *ayats* of the *Qur'an* both teach God's greatness. The poem about Jesus bringing he Gospel and

reading from it to his disciples and returning it to heaven gives the Muslim not the Christian idea of revelation. It reminded me of an English translation of a poem of Goethe in the *Divan*, quoted by the Jewish New Testament scholar in Jerusalem, David Flusser, in his well-known book entitled *Jesus*,[57] (which shows the degree to which the Muslim and Jewish ideas about Christ are similar).

I quote : Jesus in silence His pure heart
With thought of one sole God did fill
They who Himself to God convert
Do outrage to His holy will.

Quite a surprise is the *Parsinamah* in which Goethe proves to be a real "sunworshipper." Goethe's interest in Persian poetry and in things concerning Iran goes beyond the Islamic way back to the Parsi times. In Parsism, he praises their concern about the pollution of water, air and soil. In other words Goethe gives good guidance for ecologists.

The *Khuldnamah*, i.e. the Book of Paradise (*Khuld* means in Arabic "eternity, paradise") starts with the following sentence: The real Muslim talks about Paradise as if he had been there already". For somebody reared in the Jewish or Christian tradition the rather detailed knowledge about heaven and paradise in Islamic sources is something unknown. It is well-known how even Dante[58] in his **Divina Commedia** (*Il Paradiso*) received inspiration from Muslim descriptions of the ascension of the Prophet (in Arabic called the *Miradj*[59]) In Paradise Goethe meets four privileged women: Mary, Khadija, Fatima and Zuleikha.[60] The Poet and a *Huri*, like Dante and Beatrice, have a conversation about heavenly matters. The *Huri* explains that *Buraq*[61] the horse, used by Muhammad during his nightly journey, had to stay in heavens (cf. *Sura al-Asra* 17:1). Other privileged animals share his lot: one is the donkey which Jesus used on entering Jerusalem, which event is celebrated every year, one week before Easter, in all Christian churches as Palm Sunday. The second animal is the wolf who was told by Muhammad to stop stealing the sheep of the poor. The third is the dog of the seven sleepers (*ahl-ul Kahf*) of Ephesus mentioned in *Sura* 18. Goethe devotes a poem of about three pages to these Seven Sleepers.[62] The fourth is Abu Huraira's cat who had been

caressed by the Prophet.[63] The dead dog whose teeth were compared by Jesus, according to apocryphal tradition[64] with pearls was not included. He was dead. He is dealt with in a nice poem in the appendix written by Goethe himself.

In the Bible the animal world is also represented in heaven in the apocalyptic literature contained in the last book entitled Revelation. Twenty times animals are mentioned, four animals are around the Throne.[65] In the appendix Goethe also mentions in a poem *Hudhud* as the messenger of love. *Hudhud* occurs as the speaking bird in *Sura al-Namal* (27:20).[66] This quick survey of some Qur'anic and Islamic imagery in the Western *Divan* shows to what extent the old Goethe was able to use a new medium and to create a synthesis of Western and Eastern art.

Reception of the Divan

In his correspondence with his above-mentioned diplomatic friend Reinhard, we receive some glimpses of information about the way the book was appreciated. On Christmas eve of 1819 Goethe sent the complete *Divan* to Reinhard with an accompanying letter. Goethe considers the period of his life described in the *Divan* as belonging to the past. He says: These days will never come again. He recommends the translations of the *Kabus* by the above-mentioned orientalist von Diez. But also, probably because it is Christmas, he mentions a book about Christian theology by Prof. Kestner entitled **Agape** (i.e., Love) one of the key words in the New Testament, which he was reading. He expressed at the same time, his joy for the fact that Reinhard had sent him a Luther Memorial Medal. In 1817, the third centennial of the Reformation had been celebrated.[67]

Reinhard answers Goethe one month later on the first of February, 1820. He writes that he recommended the *Divan* to a lady, as proof that one could rely on you (Goethe), *believing Muslim as you are* (glaubiger Moslem, wie Sie sind),[68] in sipite of the *Sakinamah* (in other words, when you drink too much; which is of course meant as a joke). Reinhard adds that Hafiz in the tavern is as much in need of mystical interpretation as Solomon on the Song of Songs. He then goes on to explain how he himself, 40 years

previously, had written a thesis about Arabic poetrp. His gutdd was Sir William Jones, "whom you (Goethe) also honour as he deserves". One sees that Reinhard was really excited about the book. The most remarkable sentence in this context is of course Reinhard's calling Goethe: "*Believing Muslim as you are*". One might, trying to make a Muslim out of Goethe, explain this as meaning that Goethe had accepted Islam as his personal religion. I myself consider it only as a strong complimentary remark by Reinhard, that is, that Goethe had obviously been so successful in creating in German the genre of Persian poetry that poetically he had completely become a Persian or a Muslim. Reinhard just used a hyperbolic way of expression. A similar hyperbole is used in my mother tongue, Dutch. When a person wants to stress very strongly his loyalty to the Protestant movement, he may use the rather colloquial but old expression: I would rather be a Turk (Muslim) than a Papist (Roman Catholic).

Goethe no doubt felt affinity with the Muslim world. The ideology of the Enlightenment had many elements not alien to Muslim thought, stressing as it did natural, rational religion. To support this view one could quote the opinion of Franz Rosenzweig, a Jewish German philosopher. He wrote to his friend Eugen Rosenstock in 1906: "The pious Turk has more in common with Goethe than with Jews and Christians".[69]

In the *Divan* he identifies himself to such an extent with the Persian mind, that Strich can write: "In the *Divan* he (Goethe) was ostensibly a European travelling in the East in oriental costume and adapting himself to foreign ways while obviously remaining a foreigner." [70] In 1827 Goethe declared to Eckermann: "Tonight I made the remark that the songs of the *Divan* ceased to have any relation to me. Both the passionate and the oriental aspects in it ceased to live on in me. It lays like a sloughed snake skin beside the pathway". [71] In other words he discovered that it had gone from him. But he had succeeded in his purpose. "In Hafiz, Goethe found the wisdom, piety and peace which he thought the West needed. He aimed at cosmopolitanism in German literature and cherished an ideal of "Weltliteratur". The romantic school at that time was completely turning away from classical to oriental themes and thoughts which were naturally more congenial".[72]

In his "Maximen und Reflektionen", No. 807. Goethe wrote: "We are pantheists when we study nature, polytheists when we poetize, monotheists in our morality".[73]

Conclusion

While describing briefly Goethe's contacts with Islam we have not exhausted our subject. Seen against the wider background of the meeting between East and West and the cross currents of culture, many more interesting aspects of this confrontation, meeting and spiritual intercourse could be unveiled. Tentatively formulating a conclusion of a wider scope, I would endeavour to say that the cases of Goethe and Iqbal show once more clearly that great poets and cultures cannot flourish in isolation.

The cases of Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal may corroborate the thesis of the German orientalist, Becker, presented on the 30th of September 1921,[74] that the civilizations of Western Europe and the world of Islam, West of India, belong to the same culture. He mentions as ingredients for this cultural synthesis three aspects:

1. The Ancient Orient,
2. Hellenism,
3. Christianity.

Slightly changing this hypothesis, I would like to add a few observations under each of these three headings.

1. Judaism which took its origin in the Ancient Orient shows in many ways a greater similarity with Islam than any other religion including Christianity. Iqbal has called this common heritage "Semitic concreteness".[75] It is one of Iqbal's merits to have rediscovered access to this vital force of Islam.

2. As compared with the development in the West the influence of Hellenism was balanced in the heart of the Islamic world by the Iranian genius. Hafiz is one of the greatest representatives of this Islamized Persian culture. The poet, Taha Hussein, on the other hand, felt so strongly the influence of Hellenism that he claimed that Egypt belongs to the Mediterranean world and culture. [76]

3. The matual impact and influence of Chiistianity and Islam as rival religions needs no elaboration here. Goethe, however, though betraying in all his work a strong Christian influence, was in his Faust and his *Divan* a spokesman of that same secular spirit which, in much greater dimension than in the early 19th century, forms a common challenge for Islam and Christianity.

The triangle—Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal—is a geographical pattern which exemplifies an underlying unity in divergent cultures.

NOTES

1) Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Pegham-e-Mashriq, Dar Jawab Divan Shair al-Manwi Goethe* (Lahore; Sheikh Ghulam Ali, Publishers, 1966). The first edition of this book was published in 1923, the twelfth printing in 1969.

2) Iqbal, *op. cit*., p. ALEF-Be.

3) Iqbal, *op. cit*., pp. 2 ALEF-Be.

4) J.C. Burgel, Goethe und Hafiz (mimeographed).

5) S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore; Ashraf, 1967), Chapter III entitled "Iqbal and Goethe"· Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing* (Leiden; Brill, 1964, *passim*. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Botschaft des Ostens* (Wiesbaden; Harrosowitz, 1963). This book contains a German translation of the *Pegham-e-Mashriq* and an introduction by Annemarie Schimmel.

6) I used the following editions; J W. Goethe, *West Oestlicher Divan*, Vorwort und Erlauterungen von Max Rychner (Zuerich; Manasse Verlag, 1963), 600S; *Der West-Oest-liche Divan*, V (Muenchen; Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1961m, mit einem Nachwort von Eike Middel; pp 555-578 contain; Ruhm und Nachruhm von Goethe's Westoestlicher Divan) . The pages in this essay refer to von Maltzahn's edition.

7) See P.H. van Moerkerken *Achter het Mombakkes* (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1950). The author claims that Shakespeare was a pen name of Edward de Vere. His main source seems to be: Abel Lefrance *Sous le masque de "William Shakespeare"*, (Paris, 1918), 2 tomes.

8) I used for the life of Goethe mainly the following sources; R. Friendenthal, *Goethe Sein Leben undseine Ziet* (Stuttgart: Deutscher Bucherbund, 1963).

An English translation of this book was published by Weidenfeld and Nicholson in London in 1963.

E.M. Wilkenson "*Goethe*" in *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, (Chicago: University Press, 1970), Vol. X pp. 522-529 and the article "German literature", Vol. X, pp. 266-269.

Horst Hohendorf, *The Life and Times of Goethe* (London; Paul Hamlyn, 1967).

9) G.R. Gragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason* (Harmondworth; Penguin Books, 1960), p. 255.

10) S. Maugham, *Of Human Bondage* (Harmondworth; Pelican Books, 1968), p. 99. This book was first printed in 1915.

11) *Goethe Homage* 1749-1949 (Paris; UNESCO, 1949 Publication no. 411), p. 179, and Hans Freyer, *Theorie des Gegenwartigen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag Anstalt, 1967). K. Jaspers, *Unsere Zukunft und Goethe* (Zurich; Zollikon, 1948).

12) Cf. F. Strich, *Goethe and World Literature* (London; Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 142, "Thus Spinoza prepared Goethe for Islam." On Spinoza and Goethe's pantheism, see the following study by the Spinoza specialist H.G. Hubbeling, *Is the Christian God-conception philosophically inferior*? (Assen, Holland; Van Gorcum, 1963).

Goethe makes reference to Spinoza's influence on him in his autobiography, *Poetry and Truth From My Own Life* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1949) pp. 591-594; H. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy* (New York: Harper. 1958) Vo. II pp. 597-598. He writes about Goethe's "Poetic Spinozism"; see also A. Zweig "Goethe" in *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (New York: McMillan and Free Press) (III, 362-364).

13) On the Exodus see the study by the Muslim author Kamil Hussein in *The Muslim World*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1 (Jan. 1959); on Joseph; D.B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970) and H.A. Brongers, *de Jozefsgeschiedenis bij Joden, Christenen en Mohammedanen*. Een *theologische, historische en literaire studie*. (Wageningen: Veenman, 1962). This book demonstrates on pages 21-23 how the story of Joseph influenced Muslim literature.

14) W.N. Visserman, *Goethe's Werther* (Kampen: Kok, 1959) in the journal *Bezinning*, XIV No. 5 (1959), pp 255-265.

15) B. Reinert. *Die Lehre vom twakkul in der klassischen Sufik* (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1968), p. 352 T. Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran*. The *Semantic*

of the Koranic Weltanschauung (Tokyo: Keio University, 1964) on *taqwa*, pp. 43-44. Massignont ranslates *taqwa* by *piete* L. Massignon, *Essai sur Les origines du lexique technique Musulmane* (Paris: J. Vrink 1968), p. 149.

16) See for this section: F. Gotting, "Goethe" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tuebingen: Mohr, 1958), Band II, S. 1668-1676. This article contains a thorough analysis of Goethe's thoughts about Christianity and religion in general. Cf. also J.J. van Oosterzee, *Goethe's Stellung zum Christentum*: (Bielefeld: Belhagen und Klasing, 1858).

17) G.C. van Niftrik analyzes Goethe's attitude towards religion starting from his romance and planned engagement with Friederike Brion, a pastor's daughter, in "De geschiedenis van een domineesdochter" in *Ex Auditu Verbi* (Kampen: Kok, 1965), pp. 89-131. This book contains essays in honour of Dr. G.C. Berkouwer professor of systematic theology at the Free University of Amsterdam.

18) Gotta ed., II, 775.

19) Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

20) Goethe und Reinhard, *Briefwechsel in den Jahren* 1807 *bis* 1832 (Wiesbaden: Insel, 1957), p. 199; Gotting *op. cit.*, p. 1668.

21) Gotting, *op. cit.*, p. 1669.

22) According to Dr. H.Z. Ulken, "Influence of Muslim Thought on the West" in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy* (Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz, 1966), Vol. II, p. 1353.

23) Goethe, *op. cit*"p. 162.

24) Goethe, *Poetry and Truth*, (E.T.), p. 557-559.

25) Most recent authors in the West do not make a contrast between the Prophet in Mecca and the Statesman in Medina; of C. Snouck Hurgronje writing in 1925: "It is easy to understand why Muhammad before the *hijra* and Muhammad after it has appeared to many an observer as two separate personalities. In fact, it was the completely new task which he had to solve after the migration which made hitherto latent capabilities and traits of character come into the open". C. Snouck Hurgronje *Selected Works* (Leiden: Brill, 1957) pp 20,21. For a similar opinion see: Tor Andrae, *Muhammad*: *The Man and His Faith* (New York; Harper, 1960). p. 133. This book was first published in 1932. The missionary author W. Freytag still strongly contrasts the two Muhammads: the prophet and the politician Reden und Aufsatze (Muenchen: Kaiser, 1961), p. 58.

26) J.W. Goethe, *Poetische Works Vollstandige Ausgabe* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1953) S. 921-987 "Mahomet: Trauerspiel in funf Aufzugen nach Voltaire"; Goethe on Muhammad; *Diwan, op. cit.*, S. 137-140.

27) H.Z. Ulken, *op. cit.*, p. 1353.

28) On Voltaire see: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* p. 113; Tor Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175, and G.F. Pijper, *Islam in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill. 1957). p. 6.33. Norman Daniel discusses Voltaire's relation to Islam twice: *Islam and the West : The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: University Press. 1960). pp. 288-291. I quote Daniel: "the fictional plot": "Voltaire maintained his dislike of the Prophet himself"; "We may say that Voltaire first thought an attack on Islam useful for the attack on religion generally and later saw the advantages of treating the fact less passionately in order to recommend natural religion at the expense of Christian belief".

Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966), pp. 21,25,26.27,29. "With Voltaire the argument took a more ill-tempered form as unfavourable to Islam as to the Christian Church. An attack on both religions for the same faults was more logical than praise of Islam at the expense of Christianity". Daniel quotes a Roman Catholic historian who wrote in 1828: "Voltaire humbled both the pope and the sultan". He quotes also Napoleon who once remarked about Voltaire: "Il atteint Jesus Christ dans Mahomet" (He tries to get at Christ in the person of Muhammad). We see in Voltaire a mixture of motives and methods of approach. Voltaire and his disciples contributed greatly to the increase of anti-religious literature in Europe. In this context it is relevant to quote a remark by W. Montgomery Watt in *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1962) while writing about the prospect for Muslim theology: "To make matters worse the traditional suspicion of Christianity among Muslims has led those young students to prefer the humanistic and anti-religious European writers" (p. 175).

29) Kamel Hussein, *City of Wrong: A Friday in Jerusalem* (New York: Seabury Press, 1959). Translated from the Arabic with an introduction by Kenneth Cragg.

30) Though the word means "consensus" the idea of the majority rule of the lawyers or catholicity is also implied in it; cf. Snouck, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

31) C.E. Bosworth, "A Dramatization of the Prophet Muhammad's Life: Henri de Bernier's Mahomet" in *Numen, International Review for the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), Vol. XVII, pp. 105-118.

32) Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

33) See about Sir William Jones, Garland Cannon (ed.) *The Letters of Sir William Jones* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1970), Vol. I, 452 pp.; Vol. II 977 pp, and Garland Cannor, "Sir William Jones's Indian Studies" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 91 No. 3 July-Sept. 1971 pp. 418-426.

34) See about all these orientalists in Johann Fuck, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig: Otto Harrosowitz, 1955).

35) J.M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Lahore: Ashraf, 1964), p. 7.

36) For the text see A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London; Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 337.

37) G.M. Wickens "Hafiz" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), New Edition, Vol. III, p. 56.

38) Wickens, *op. cit.*, p. 57 and Arberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 333 ff. The work of the Western orientalists preceded the rebirth of serious Hafiz scholarship in Iran proper.

39) Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

40) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957) containing an introduction and translation of the *Mu'allaqat*.

41) Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

42) Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

43) Fr. Gabrieli, "Literary Tendencies" in G.E. von Grunebaum, *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (Chicago: University Press, 1955), p. 100.

44) Gertrude L. Bell, *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (London: Heinemann, 1928). A.J. Arberry, *Hafiz: Fifty Poems* (Cambridge: University Press, 1947).

45) Mentioned by J.C. Burgel, *op. cit.*, p. 2; see also the studies mentioned by Max Rychner in his edition of the Divan (see note 5) by Wurm, Schaeder, Korff, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, et al.

46) Translation of "North and West and South are Crumbling" quoted from Mumtaz Hasan, "Goethe and the East" in Islamic Literature Vol. XV No. 1, pp. 51-54. G.M. Wickens, *op. cit.*, p. 529, mentions an English translation of the Divan by Edward Dowden in 1914, The *West-Eastern Divan*, which I was not able to trace. Translations in this essay are my own unless otherwise indicated.

47) A.J. Wensinck, "al-Khadir" in H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden; Brill, 1961), pp. 232-235.

48) See H. Paulus "Veronika" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tubingen; Mohr, 1962), Band VI. S. 1366.

49) Iqbal. *op. cit.* p. 3.

50) Taha Hussein, "Goethe and the East" in *Goethe, UNESCO's* homage on the occassion of the 200th anniversary of this birth (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), pp. 165-179.

51) For the historical background of the literary activities in that period see: Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), p. 254; for "Timur", *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, s.v.; see note 7 above.

52) B. Heller, "Yusuf B. Ya'kub" in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 647.

53) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, s.v. "Hatem".

54) Hans Franck, *Marianne* (Berlin Darmstadt: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1956), p. 398. For other studies on Marianne and Goethe see *Goethe*, Max Rychner ed., p. 577 and van Niftrik, *op. cit.*, p. 113, note 64.

55) A. Jeffery, *Islam, Muhammad and His Religion* (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1958), pp. 66-68, who gives a literal translation of Ibn Salama, *Kitab an-Nasikh wa'l Mansukh* (Cairo, 1315 A.H. 1897 A.D.) , pp 9-19.

56) See about this doctrine: R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cam bridge: Univ. Press, 1967), p. 82 and M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of* Muslim Philosophy (Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz, 1966), I,409; II, 1574.

57) David Flusser, *Jesus* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 133; Gotting, *op. cit.*, S. 1674.

58) As in Palacios, *La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Commedia* (Madrid, 1919); E.T.: *Isl m and the Divine Comedy*, translated and abridged by H. Sutherland (London, 1968), XI, 295 pp.

59) Cf. G. Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God and His Ascension* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1955.

60) For a different list see: M. Hayek, *Le Christ de L'Islam* (Paris: du Seuil, 1958), p. 77.

61) B. Carra de Vaux, "Burak", *S.E.I.*, *s.v.*

62) Y. Moubarac, "Le Culte liturgique et populaire des VII Dormants martyrs d'Ephese (Ahl al Kahf: Trait d'union Orient-Occident entre l'Islam et al Chretiente" in *Islam*, (Studia Missionalia, no. 11; Roma: Pontifical University, 1961), pp. 138-193.

63) The name means "the father of the little cat"; see I. Goldziher, "Abu Haraira," *S.E.I.*, p.10.

64) By "apocryphal tradition" is meant the so-called Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations. Translations of these spurious writings can be found in: A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, *The Anti-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D.* 325 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), Vol. VIII.

65) Revelation 4: 6.

66) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, *s.v.*

67) Goethe und Reinhard, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

68) Goethe und Reinhard, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Dr. Julia Gauss, Basel, drew my attention to this book and this place.

69) Eugen Rosenstock, *Briefe* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 716, 718.

70) F. Strich, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

71) *Diwan*, Rychner edition, p. 582.

72) P.K. Hitti, *Islam and the West* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1962), p. 60.

73) *Goethe's Poetische Werke*, Vollstandige Ausgabe Zweiter Band; West-oestliche Divan, Epen, Maximen und Reflexionen (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1950), S. 780, No. 807.

74) C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien: Vom Werden und Wesender islamischen Welt* Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), Vol. I, p 28.

75) Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Ashraf, 1960), p. 131.

76) Referred to by Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 190.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawa'pindi.
30 November, 1971.

HATIM A. ALAVI

IN the world of today, science is in the ascendant, while the religious impulse is in the eclipse. That is why there is an ugly chaos in public and private morals and a subtle lowering of the sense of beauty. This cancer of the spirit, this negation of reverence, dignity, honour, of the noble and sublime, is manifest in the sub-human, the prevalence of crude animalism in much of the music, art and literature of the twentieth century.

Life in all its forms displays power and perfection and nowhere is this more true than in Nature, Gods' own handiwork. The Holy Qur'an *says :*

الحمد لله الذی خلق السموات والارض و جعل الظلمات والنور ثم الذين
كفروا بربهم يعدلون -

> *Praise be to God who created the heavens and the earth and made the darkness and the light.* (An'am-1)

وائن سالتهم من خلق السموات و الارض ليقولن خلقهن العزيز العليم الذی
جعل لكم الارض مهداً و جعل لكم فيها سبلا لعلكم تهتدون والذی نزل
من السماء ماء بقدر فانشرنا به بلدة ميتا كذلک تخرجون والذی خلق
الازواج كلها وجعل لكم من الفلک والانعام ماتركبون -

> [*If thou wert to question them: Who created the heavens and the earth? They would be sure to reply: They were created by (Him) The Exalted in power, full of knowledge; (Yea, the same that) Has made for you the earth (like a carpet) spread out, and has made for you roads (and canals) therein in order that Ye may find guidance (on the way); That sends down (from time to time) Rain from the sky in due measure; and we raise to life therewith a land that is dead, even so will Ye be raised (from the dead); That has created pairs in all things and has made for you ships and cattle on which Ye ride*]. (Zukhruf—9).

We have a marvellous universe, physical in its aspects, and spiritual in its workings. The wonders of the heavenly bodies and life on earth are rich, overwhelmingly rich, and full of variety. The rolling waters, the effulgent heavens, the bountiful earth, with its changing seasons and landscapes, present a universal unity of life. Not just barely nice and useful for living, but intoxicating us with its beauty and mystery. Behind it all we feel the Creator who compels in us the greatest reverence to Him and His handiwork.

Nature is both physical and moral. Take the rainbow for instance. Understanding the rainbow is physical, but delight at the rainbow is morality. Understanding does not, should not and cannot destroy the delight. Man's heart is still touched by beauty and goodness and justice and kindness. Knowing that God, who is the author of all the things, is ever so high above us, how can we live except by the highest and the best in us? To live the good lije, to act according to our highest and noblest instincts, to reverence nature, is the right thing to do. Throughout the ages, the saints and the scientists, the prophets and the philosophers, have respected nature and recognised its Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Nowhere are the goods and treasures of Nature deserving of Man's respect, set forth more lucidly than in the Introduction to the Book of Knowledge edited by Arthur Mee.

This then, in brief, is an introduction to the theme of Sham-i-Hamdard, *this afternoon,* Ehteram-i-Fitrat. *Our Guest Speaker is Mr. Hatim A. Alavi, who is too well-known a figure to need any introduction. An able lieutenant of the Quaid-i-Azam, he is one of the veteran figures of the freedom movement in the Sub-continent. He is a prominent member in the public life at Karachi and was at one time its Mayor. He played an active part in the* Khilafat *and Non-Cooperation Movements of* 1920-22. *Although a member of the Congress, he left it in* 1928, *because of its attitude to the Muslims. He made a valuable contribution to the building up of the Muslim League Organisation from* 1937 *onwards. As a leading business man and industrialist, Mr. Alavi has also assisted in the growth of Pakistan's economy. He was a member of the Pakistan delegation to the Conference on Sterling Balances in England in* 1948 *and is a Director of the State Bank of Pakistan.*



HATIM A. ALAVI

Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, has honoured us with his acceptance to preside over the Sham-i-Hamdard. *He hardly needs any introduction to you, having dominated the education field in Pakistan, by his wisdom, his experience and his reverence for the great tradition of learning.*

To both these personalities, Dr. Qureshi and Mr. Hatim Alavi, I wish to express my profound gratitude.

Hakim Mohammed Said

EHTERAM-I-FITRAT

Hatim A. Alavi

WE are all beholden to Hakim Mohammed Said who is organizing this series of lectures on the subject of *Ehteram*. I can sum up this attempt in the beautiful poetical verse of Lord Tennyson when he said:

"Let knowledge grow from more to more
But more of reverence in us dwell".

As 'Knowledge' is being assaulted not only from all sides but also from above and below by the publication of cheap and shoddy books, by eveningers that open in our cities the gutters of the West as if the overflow of our own sewers was not enough and by other media of news and entertainment that appeal to our senses rather than enrich our minds, the organization of this series of lectures on *Ehteram* is like an oasis in a parched desert in the same way that this Intercontinental Hotel is an American oasis right in the midst of hundreds of thousands of filthy and unsanitary homesteads.

As you all already know, my theme for this evening's address to you is *Ehteram-i-Fitrat*. There is not a moment of any day of our lives, when Nature is not producing scene after scene, picture after picture, glory after glory, working on principles of the most perfect beauty, a contemplation of which could not but produce for us a sense of perpetual *Ehteram*. Every man and every woman, wherever placed, however far from other sources of interest or of beauty, has this to behold before them constantly. The great panoramas of the earth can be visited and seen by the few, nor does it appear that human beings should always live in the midst of them but the sky is for all; bright as it is, it is not, in the words of the poet :

"Too bright and good
For human nature's daily food ;"

The sky with its sun, moon and stars is fitted in all its functions for the perpetual comfort and exaltation of the heart; for soothing it and purifying it from its dross and dust; sometimes gentle, sometimes capricious, sometimes awful, never the same for two minutes together; almost human in its passions, almost spiritual in its tenderness, almost divine in its infinity, its appeal to what is immortal in us is as distinct as its ministry of chastisement or of blessing to what is mortal, is essential.

I just said that the sky is never the same for two minutes together and that reminds me of one of the most wonderful sayings of our Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He is reported to have said: "No man can be a *Momin* if two of his days are passed in exactly identical manner". I submit for your consideration that without *Ehteram-i-Fitrat*, it is very nearly impossible to drink from the living springs of the spirit each day or to comprehend in all its fullness that one single *Ayah* of the *Surat-ur-Rehman*, where it is said of God : کل یوم هو فی شان (Everyday He is bedecked in a new glory).

When a *Momin* can actually witness the renewal of glory everyday, obviously his two days would not pass in an identical manner. That is why we insist on a daily recitation of the *Qur'an*. More than any other known compilation of words, it points to the panoramas of Nature and asks us to contemplate the same with *Ehteram*, so that he, who can really grasp the spirit and teaching of the *Qur'an*, becomes a *Momin* of whom our national poet Allama Iqbal said:

یہ راز کسی کو نہیں معلوم کہ مومن
قاری نظر آتا ہے حقیقت میں ہے قرآن

In the Chapter of *An-Nahl*, the third *Ayah* declares: "God created the Heavens and the Earth with Truth" and woven into the Book, like warp and woof, are the oft-repeated injunctions to ponder on this Truth of the created universe by contemplating Nature—with *Ehteram*. Once again, in the words of the *Shair-i-Mashriq* :

چمک تیری عیاں بجلی میں، آتش میں، شرارے میں
جھلک تیری ہویدا چاند میں، سورج میں، تارے میں

There is one aspect of *Ehteram* against which our youth rebels and very rightly too. There is a tendency in our society to consider everything old as sacrosanct and to worship the dead past without a full knowledge of what it really was and its complete unsuitability in this last quarter of the 20th century. In the domain of politics, I have often heard people with choked emotion referring to the Golden Era of the *Khilafat-i-Rashida*, when accountability was taken to such length that a poor old woman could question the Caliph of the time as to how he had come into possession of some extra yards of cloth for his flowing robe.

That was the time when the sphere of Government was so limited that the Caliph probably knew by name and sight every citizen of his capital. In sharp contrast to this, today the Manager of a big industrial undertaking would not be able to recognize his workmen and a Secretary to the Government may not even know the total number of men working in his Ministry. Besides, the prosperity of the average citizen of today, as compared to the miserable working conditions of those days, is so great that our less fortunate co-citizens of today are unlikely to envy the 20 yards of cloth in which some of our *waderas* gird themselves in the amplitude of their trousers !

In all phases of human civilization, the cyclic problems, experienced as change, are often initially held as progress, then called regression, then reached to in exaggerated ways. For a moment, please de-link your mind with any comparison of the times of the *Khulafa-i-Rashideen* and Martial Law and think of nuclear power. A quarter of a century ago, when the possibility of deriving electric power from nuclear fission was first discussed, it seemed that this innovation might save mankind from power shortages and in the West people even talked glibly of condensing fresh water from salt and pumping it electrically 300 miles into the Sahara which would then bloom into a mighty forest. This was stage first called progress but when nuclear power plants were erected, it was found that large quantities of river water were required as coolant and, when expelled, the heated water produced thermal pollution which destroyed riverine life. This was stage two, regression. So conservationists demanded that nuclear production of power be completely halted. This was phase three, over-reaction.

What needs to be done is to insist that some alternative to water cooling be devised, so that the unquestioned good of the nuclear reactor could be achieved while avoiding the unquestioned evil of its thermal pollution.

It is evident that during the last 15 years, our nation has regressed in many ways or at least not made enough headway against the problems it faces. There is a strong inclination to yearn for the past, and in that context, there is much discussion as to why Rome fell and other civilizations and countries with the inevitable conclusion that they fell because they veered from old, established patterns of citizenship and responsibility.

I have worked much with a history of the older civilizations and I believe they fell more because they failed to adjust to change than because they were undermined by it. Pakistan had better learn to adjust to change. The problem faced by Rome and now by Pakistan, is the one that has perpetually been faced by organized society *viz.*, how to hold onto the basic virtues on which the society was founded while adjusting rapidly to the change which it cannot escape.

Pakistan was specifically carved out of the Indian Sub-continent for one and only reason that we may have here a Society based on the fundamental precepts of the Holy *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*. It is my conviction that the framing of a constitution on this basis is not possible. Do we need a constitution to tell us that we should not miss a single of our five prayers, that we should observe all the fasts of *Ramazan*, that we should perform the *Haj* and carry out many other obligations which the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* lays on us. Perhaps we can introduce prohibition but what kind of Muslims we would then be who would not listen to the call of the *Qur'an* but have more *Ehteram* for the *danda* (club) of the Government. In other words, it amounts to saying that our *Ehteram* of the *danda* is a lot more than our so-called *Ehteram* of the Holy Book.

Talking of the *Qur'an* and nuclear fission, reminds me of an incident exactly 10 years ago in 1962 when the then President of Ghana, Dr. Khwame Nkrumah, had convened an International Conference to discuss what he called "A World without a Bomb". This was to draw the world's attention to the danger of nuclear bombs.

The Chief Scientific Advisor to the President of Pakistan, Dr. Abdus Salam, was a member of the Pakistan Delegation. One evening when we went out for a walk, he quoted to me an *Ayah* of the *Qur'an* and said that he does not know a more succinct definition of nuclear fission than that. This was the opinion of Pakistan's foremost nuclear scientist. Even though out of context, let me mention an interesting incident of that occasion. When asked to speak on the main subject of the conference, which was "A World without the Bomb," I said what I had to say and concluded my speech exclaiming :

"Let us all work for having a world without the bomb or, else, very soon there would be a bomb without the world".

This Pakistan delegate hit the headlines in the next day's papers and for some time, "A Bomb without the World" became a mode of greeting to him.

Once I was returning on board a ship from Hong Kong to Karachi. It was the second week of a summer moonlit night and the moon grew in size and resplendence from evening to evening. There is always a crowded after-dinner programme for saloon passengers inclusive of drinking, dancing, cinema and magic shows, etc., etc. However, I used to slip away quietly and drawing a deck chair on the stern deck of the ship, would watch all by myself the moon and the play of its beams on the surface of the sea and absorb in my being the beauty and the silence of the night.

On each succeeding day, my fellow passengers would inquire as to where I had disappeared immediately after dinner and they all concluded that perhaps I was a fanatic of "the early to bed and early to rise" dictum. I never put them wise till the last day. Had I done so, at least some of the passengers may have followed me to the moonlit deck and disturbed my silence and my reveries. Even the most understanding of my friends would have come out with exclamations such as "What a beautiful night; how gorgeous the moonlight is" etc., etc. This kind of idle chatter which most human beings cannot suppress reminds me of a story from the *Masnavi* of Maulana Room which runs as follows:

Four friends planned a retreat in a mosque and decided that whatever happened, they would not break the silence and speak even a word. After they were thus engaged on their *musallas*, a man entered the mosque and started opening up some windows making a lot of noise. One of the four friends could not restrain himself and rebuked the intruder saying: "Don't you realize that you are disturbing others?" Immediately his friend, sitting next to him, pulled him up and said: "Why are you bothered about this intruder? Don't you realize that you have broken your own silence"? At this, the third friend said to the second: "My dear man, it is bad enough that the first of our friend fell out of our arrangement by rebuking the intruder but you at least should have kept silent". When this conversation was going on between the third and the second friend, the fourth man thought within himself: "Thank God, I am safe because my silence remains intact".

Concluding the story, the great poet, philosopher and saint, said that of all the four friends the lapse of the fourth man who did not speak was most regrettable because while he did not utter a word, his mind was disturbed all the time and to this he added the sin of piety by rejoicing over his own impeccability rather than regretting about the very natural drawbacks of his three friends and companions.

It is only when all motions of thought are stilled in the mind and every form of articulation brought to a standstill, whether it be in the vastness of a desert or in the deep hollow of a cave, that watching and worshipping the profundity of Nature, one can understand the import of "*La ilaha illullah.*" Without *Ehteram-i-Fitrat*, the *Kalma-i-Tayyeba* can be pronounced but not comprehended.

I wonder how many of you have read Victor Hugo's great masterpiece **Les Miserables**. He mentions a Bishop who is travelling in his diocese and stops as a guest at a lonely house on the top of a mountain overlooking a valley. The people of the village complained to the Bishop that his host is a non-practising Christian inasmuch as he never attends the Sunday worship at the Church. Taking an opportunity, the Bishop mentions this to his host and inquires as to why he does not participate in the ceremonial Sunday

services. The man expresses his deep regret for his irreligiousness but, at the same time, during the course of the conversation, he says to the Bishop: "Sir, every morning when I get up and stand in my balcony, watching the sun rise and its rays overtaking every inch of this valley, a deep sigh of "*Aaah*" escapes from the depth of my being and I stand mute for several minutes watching this daily miracle of God". The Bishop placed his hand on the man's shoulder and said to him: "My dear friend, with all the chatterings that I do, I wish I could worship God as profoundly as you do every morning by this deep reverential feeling that you have at the sight of every sunrise".

There is a Sanskrit proverb to the effect: "*Pinde So Brahmande*" which means that whatever is in the universe is also in your own body or, in scientific terminology, "macrocosm" is contained in "microcosm".

The other day a friend of mine, a leading eye specialist of Karachi told me: "For 40 long years I have done nothing but made a study of the eyeball which is but a small part of the human body and now I have reached the conclusion that I know so little about the human eye". This ophthalmologist said: "The complexity and wonder of the eyeball, one of nature's product is such that I can now never touch it except as a sacred object the study of which fills me with wonderment".

Abu Hurayrah, a close Companion of the Holy Prophet has reported him as saying: "Every child that is born conforms to the true religion, then his parents make him a Jew, or a Christian or a Magian. As a beast is born entire in all its limbs do you see one born maimed and mutilated?" Thereafter, the Prophet recited this *Ayah* of the *Qur'an*:

> 30. "Then set *your* face upright for religion in the right state—the Nature made by Allah in which He has made men; there is no altering of Allah's creation: that is the right religion, but most people do not know".

In the context of the subject of this evening's talk, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that as many as 40 Chapters of

the Perspicuous Book bear the captions that point to Nature and its various other aspects. These 40 chapters of the Holy Book, as in original Arabic, are as under:

(1) *Al-Baqarah* (2) *Al-Maidah* (3) *Al-Anaam* (4) *Ar-Raad* (5) *Al-Hijr* (6) *An-Nahl* (7) *Al-Kahf* (8) *Al-Ankabut* (9) *As-Saba* (10) *Ad-Dukhan* (11) *Al-Ahqaf* (12) *At-Tur* (13) *An-Najm* (14) *Al-Qamar* (15) *Al-Hadid* (16) *Al-Mulk* (17) *Al-Qalam* (18) *Al-Jin* (19) *Al-Insan* (20) *Al-Inshiqaq* (21) *Al-Buruj* (22) *Al-Ghashiyah* (23) *Al-Fajr* (24) *Al-Balad* (25) *Ash-Shams* (26) *Al-Lail* (27) *Ad-Duha* (28) *Al-Inshirah* (29) *At-Tin* (30) *Al-Alaq* (31) *Al-Qadr* (32) *Al-Zilgal* (33) *Al-Qariah* (34) *At-Takasur* (35) *Al-Asr* (36) *Al-Fil* (37) *Al-Kausar* (38) *Al-Lahab* (39) *Al-Falaq* and (40) *An-Nas*.

Translated, these 40 chapter headings would read as under:

(1) The Cow (2) The Food (3) The Cattle (4) The Thunder (5) The Rock (6) The Bee (7) The Cave (8) The Spider (9) As Saba (a city in the Yemen destroyed by flood) (10) The Drought (11) The Sandhills (12) The Mountain (13) The Star (14) The Moon (15) The Iron (16) The Kingdom (17) The Pen (18) The *Jin* (19) The Man (20) The Bursting Asunder (21) The Stars (22) The Overwhelming Event (23) The Day-break (24) The City (25) The Sun (26) The Night (27) The Early Hours (28) The Expansion (29) The Fig (30) The Clot (31) The Majesty (32) The Shaking (33) The Repelling Calamity (34) The Multiplication of Wealth (35) The Time (36) The Elephant (37) The Abundance of Good (38) The Flame (39) The Dawn and (4.) The Men.

In the lyrical *surah* of *Ar-Rahman*, rivers and oceans and mountains and deserts, are pointed out and what is in between them all. Watching them all, in an ecstasy of *Ehteram*, the beholder exclaims as many as 23 times :

فبای الاء ربکما تکذبان

Engligh poetry is replete with adoration of Nature and so far I have resisted the temptation of drawing anything from this treasure-house. But before I conclude, let me recite to you Wordsworth's lovely lines on Nature:

"Nature never did betray
The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,
Through all the years of this our life, to lead
From joy to joy; for she can so inform
The mind that is within us, so impress
With quietness and beauty, and so feed
With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
Nor dreary intercourse of daily life,
Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings".

We are being repeatedly told, and very rightly too, that Islam is *Deen-i-Fitrat*. Before I resume my seat, I would like to impress on your consciousness that if Islam is *Deen-i-Fitrat*, then *Ehteram-i-Fitrat* is the practice of Islam.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
16 March, 1972.

G. ALLANA

POWER, down through the ages, has appeared in various forms and expressions. But the greatest power is that which lies in true morality of 'Akhlaq', *before which all physical power bows. In the echelon of virtues that form* Akhlaq, Ehteram (*Respect*) *ranks high. The story of the rise and fall of nations is proof of whether they had* Akhlaq *or lacked it, whether they had* Ehteram *or lacked it. Man himself has been created to live and proclaim by his life, the power of* Akhlaq *and* Ehteram. *The essential ingredients of a noble character are love and service, courage and peace, tolerance and respect, honour and integrity.* Ehteram *for others wins* Ehteram *for oneself and life is ended when* Ehteram *ends.* Akhlaq *and* Ehteram *strengthen sincerity without which human progress is impossible. Never before has the message of* Ehteram *been so gravely needed. We are living at a time when creeds and ideologies vary and clash. But the gospel of* Ehteram *is universal and eternal.*

Respect, reverence, revolt, these three words apply to the three elements of Man's life: Man and himself, Man and God, Man and Society. From the beginning oj time two forces have been at work in the world, the forces of good and evil, the one constructive, the other destructive, the two always mutually antagonistic. In the microcosm or the little world of man, the grosser body which envelops the spirit may be said to typify the force of evil and the still small voice of conscience within us, the force of good. And there is a continual war of body against spirit which is magnified in life, in the world and in civilisation.

Civilisation must be judged and prized not by the amount of power it has developed, but how much it has evolved and given expression by its laws and institutions, to the love of humanity. Whenever some civilisation fell into decay and died, it was owing to causes which produced callousness of heart and led to the cheapening of man's work; when catchwords, slogans and rebellion have swept overboard all that which stands for greatness and freedom. Civilisation can never sustain itself upon cannibalism of any sort.

There is no wealth but life. History demonstrates the truth of this statement amply from time to time. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is the richest who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence over the lives of others. The greatness of man is not physical but spiritual. It is by virtue of his mind, not his body, that he is exalted.

The essential characteristic vice prevalent today appears to me to be lack of reverence and respect for all the traditional values, authority and control. The world today is literally reaching out for the stars with a growing confidence of being able to attain its objective. The tremendous progress in all spheres of human endeavour and the insatiable quest for knowledge places us in an environment completely different to that of a generation ago. Speed is the characteristic of the times. Then there is the economic aspect. We have today a greater earning capacity, and can achieve our goals in a shorter time. But has not the modern world in the process of getting materially rich, become spiritually poor. Have not complex phenomena of dissatisfaction, restlessness and revolt seized the present generations of youth who are completely disappointed in our secularised society. Do not young people look for new experiences of life, and protest against the emptiness passed on to them by their elders. Do they not today show a certain anxiety to avoid conventional education and prefer to pose as free and at times unprincipled and eccentric individuals in order to give in to the strangest fashions and often to anti-social passions. However, if the means to express their dissatisfaction are unconventional and revolutionary, one cannot deny them the sincerity of spirit which is not afraid to denounce the emptiness that modern life has created, an emptiness without real and strong ideas, without reasons worthy of giving life, meaning, value or faith.

On the other hand there is a growing inability among the rebels and reformers of the world to express themselves clearly with regard to objectives. They seem handicapped by a lack of ideology in the sense of a coherent and specific set of goals, a consistent series of norms according to which society is to be remade. Catch phrases like "Freedom", "Love", "Self-fulfilment" are bandied about. But ask "Freedom for what?", "Love in what fashion?", "Self-fulfilment toward what goals"? There are no answers. Modern youth tends to



G. ALLANA (left)
(Mr. Hashim Raza (Centre)and Dr.
Hafiz Mohammed Ilyas)

shy away from systematic organisation of any kind. The feeling is that organisations cramp the style of the human spirit; they restrict the spontaneity and creative love of the individual person. It seems to me, however, that in the absence of carefully planned organisations, human love, in the final analysis, will become weak and ineffective. Even the most basic kind of human love only becomes really effective when it is put into the organised structure we call the family. We must learn to distinguish between those organisations that stifle the human spirit and those that create a situation where the human personality can flower much more fully than it could if left to itself. Unless we do so, we will pass from the scene without having accomplished much except stirring up quite a bit of noise and excitement. We must change from the vacuous and negative attitude to a truly human and positive one wherein respect and reverence of Man for Man predominates. And the conflict between the generations—a conflict that can best be expressed in the so-called inability of the one to understand and appreciate fully the other and vice-versa, can be solved. How? By adults engaging in friendly discussion with young people so that both groups, overcoming the age barrier, can become better acquainted and can share the special benefits each generation has to offer the other. For, uncontrolled emotion can only lead to disaster, controlled emotion to nobility of character and soul.

Victor Hugo once wrote: "There is one thing grander than the sea: that is the sky. There is one thing grander than the sky: that is the human soul". He who does not respect and guard his fellow's security and soul is diligently engaged in the destruction of his own. We can only avert disaster and destruction if we make God more than ever the focal point of a world which is searching to know itself in justice, brotherhood and peace.

Mr. G. Allana wishes to share his thoughts on Respect, Reverence, Revolt with us. He is too well-known to need a formal introduction to any audience in any part of the country. His talent, experience and aptitude, and his genuine concern about the present and future, should make his address intellectually arresting and thought-provoking.

Hakim Mohammed Said

REFLECTIONS ON RESPECT, REVERENCE AND REVOLT

G. Allana

I propose to share with you my personal reflections on such weighty, but topical subjects as respect, reverence and revolt. They are in the nature of whisperings of my soul, and I shall endeavour in my task that their echoes reach your ears and, if possible, that your judgement should find itself in agreement with the promptings of my mind.

I am not attempting to make an assault on the citadel of accepted shibboleths, nor even to deflate or deface dogmas prevalently current all over the world. Our tragic century has been a victim for long under this torturing procedure. I am merely setting out to reflect on some eternal problems of life in order to inspire others to do some thinking about them. At times our thinking, yours and mine, may coincide; at others, it might diverge in different directions. It is only by the free exchange of ideas between thinking individuals that human progress has been possible since the dawn of Creation.

I am all too well aware of my own shortcomings to tackle a subject of such a magnitude—a subject that involves discussion on ethics, religion, philosophy and metaphysics. I wish someone, better qualified than myself, had been invited to speak on this subject. However, I shall only try to do my best.

Before the advent of Man on this planet, the cycle of nature revolved round the axis of physical aggrandisement. But the arrival of Man on the scene brought about a complete metamorphosis. The spirit and intellect of Man made it possible for him to shake off the animal propensities of physical enormities and in its place Man set his feet towards a freedom of more subtle perfection. This process of evolution, has led Man to the path of realisation of the

boundless in his power. The leather-binding cover and the pages that follow are, in fact, parts of that what we call a book. Similarly, our senses, the experiences of our life, and the comprehension of our mind are all harmonious parts of that what we know as Man.

The acceptance of good and rejection of evil has been ingrained in the mind of Man not solely through any process of philosophical reasoning, but largely, due to the fact that its veracity begins to gradually dawn in the conscious mind of Man, as if it were an experience of a direct vision. On the superfluous surface of life we notice the phenomenon of ever-changing phases of human unity, which may at first appear to be beyond the compass of direct knowledge. Therein lies the source, which makes an individual capable of making the greatest sacrifice, and then by rising in the esteem of his fellow men. If esteem for an individual is born in the heart of one, then can respect for that individual be far behind ?

Those that reached adolescence at the end of the Second World War were troubled with the fear of catastrophic possibilities staring them in the face. This was their obsession, a nightmare, which may as well convert itself into a reality.

Mankind, therefore, seemed to be drifting towards the frightening wilderness of uncertainty, and the general mood of international society was that of impotent perplexity. The wild prospect of shuddering perplexities gives birth to a sickness, which slumbers throughout the day and keeps marching with nailed boots, whose echoes keep the human mind badly disturbed at night.

Two World Wars within five decades on a hitherto unprecedented scale had been fought, uprooting, enslaving or killing some seventy million human beings. This planet was crimson with human blood and had been turned into a Dantean Inferno, because of unbearable human sufferings. Man stood triumphant, like Satan himself, amidst weapons of warfare that he had invented, which could masacre millions of peoples within the twinkling of an eye. The young man of the post-Second World War era was face to face with such a shuddering eventuality as to be innocently mutilated by the hydrogen and atomic bombs or to be blasted like twisted wire by missiles,

which would be on their errand of death by the mere pushing of a button. Such a prospect to the younger generation, and to generations not yet born, was intolerable and revolting. "Why bother about life, and life's niceties?", they seemed to protest. "We have been brought into the world only to be blown to bits".

On the other hand, parents were confronted with the unhappy prospect of being called upon to make sacrifices for their children, which might ultimately prove to be profitless or futile. Bewildered by such a disturbing prospect, humanity seemed to be heading towards the dangerous precipice of a mountain-peak, on the other side of which the future seemed dark, bleak, hopeless, both for the young ones as well as for the parents. It seemed as if the point of parting of the ways had been reached between the parents and the progeny.

From times immemorial, men have differed as to what is right and what is wrong; what is virtue and what is vice. Although details and nuances were a matter of doubt and debate and discussion, the basis of good and evil were never in doubt. But in our modern times, right and wrong, virtue and vice, good and evil, are regarded no better and no more than ancient superstitions, that have befogged the mind of man. The very basis for a way of life sanctified by belief having been shaken, modern man is not sure by what clear principles his life should be guided. Increasing trends in this direction in the post-war period have pushed the younger generation to attitude of social conduct and social relationship unheard of in any previous period of history. In this imbalance, traditional and weighty authority has been torn to shreds by the young modern iconoclasts, and in its place they have installed the awful and blood-thirsty deity of disrespect, of challenge, of defiance, of revolt.

To show respect and reverence, wherever it is due, is an attitude of mind. In a world torn with greed and passion, in a world shaken to its depths by infectious unrest, the soothing balm of religion has to be applied on its conscience, in order to enable the world to gain its poise and tranquillity. Only then will such ancient values as respect and reverence come to occupy their traditional place in human society. We live in an age when even kisses seem to have

lost their meaning and message; when the demon of lust seems to have dethroned the deity of love. In this modern jungle of existence, it is pristine morality, in its pristine connotation of emphasis on acceptance of moral values, that can tend to harmonise the chords of human existence with the grand music of Man. It must not be forgotten that it is the self-surrender of the individual, throughout the ages of history, to the purpose of the Universe that has made possible the dazzling marvel of Creation. Man must realise that he is something that in actual fact exceeds himself. He must realise that his journey through life must be from the tavern of Life to the tavern of the God intoxicated. He must open his ears to listen to that call that cries loud deep in his inner self. Evolution has promoted human existence from the passive plebianism of the animal to the daring aristocracy of Man.

When Man is wholly engrossed with the preoccupation of eking out a means of livelihood for himself, he has no leisure to relax and to endeavour to lift the curtain from the mystery of his own self. In that state of intoxication in engrossment, he is oblivious of the truth of his own personality. Man himself is the deity that modern Man has set up to worship. Respect and reverence have been thrown overboard into the dark sea of oblivion. What a perversion of the purpose of Life! It is God, who is the ultimate goal of human life. In order to be united with God, we have to begin by uniting oneself with humanity. The creative genius of Man must make him realise his surroundings as his own larger Self, and Service to his fellow-men as a symbol of his love for his God. A deed done to benefit one's self alone fasten chains of spiritual slavery on one's vision. But something done in a spirit of self-surrender, in order to benefit others, is the measure and yardstick of Man's greatness, and that greatness is true and abiding happiness.

Human unity, by whatever name one may call it, becomes a living force when one realises oneself in others, when one respects others. To me, Love has no better definition than this. The Spirit of Love, dwelling as it does in the boundless realms of Man's Soul, emancipates us from the prison-house of separation of the Self from the Universe. It is God, the Universal Soul, who imparted to Man the attributes of manifestation; clothed him with form;

gifted him with movement; inspired him with wisdom. Thus equipped by God, Man has been enabled to comprehend the music of the Unknown. Just as civilisation is a constant struggle to further the kingdom of knowledge, so is an individual's pilgrimage towards the great Unknown as unceasing pursuit towards the realisation of a Higher Self.

A way of life that is accepted out of habit may not be lasting. But that which fulfils the test of the touchstone of intellectual conviction will have a longer lease of life and will endure. For such basic entities to be lastingly acceptable, they should be deeply felt, they have to be profoundly believed in, they have to be dominant even in his dreams. Therefore, we see that respect towards authority, parental or otherwise, is merely a thin coating these days, which the rough rumble and tumble of modern life wears away, while a young man is yet in his teens.

Human nature, stalking across the millenia, has left undying footsteps of conflicts, in which some people have been victorious and some others have been vanquished. These conflicts have been between Man and Nature, or between Man and Man, or between Man and his own inner Self. Conflict between Man and Nature has given birth to science and scientific technology. The second conflict above-named leads to political strifes and wars, and the third pertains to the realms of the Soul of Man or to his Religion. In all these three facets is reflected the image of Respect, Reverence or Revolt, in one form or the other.

An individual, who is not at peace with his own social surroundings, is indeed an unhappy being. Happiness and the means to happiness depend on our ability to live in harmony with other men, with our social environment, with our fellow human beings. Revolt breeds conflict, and, therefore, revolt is the very antithesis of social harmony. The problems of Man's relations with his fellow human beings increase in importance in proportion to his mastery over his environment, which means his advancement in the realm of scientific inquiry and discovery. The reason is that, in mastering the mysteries of nature, there is more cohesive social groupings, often transcending boundaries of nationalism, often international pooling of Man's resources and knowledge, making it

easier for the average individual to earn his daily bread. The latter may sometimes prove disastrous, as Man appears to utilise the increase in his leisure time to invent more terrible weapons of mass massacre.

Modern civilisation has made life between nations so inter-dependent that competition yielded place to cooperation. At such a stage of human evolution, at least on the surface, the conflict between Man and Man must be mitigated, leaving the conflict of Man with himself to be resolved or to take primary place in the orbit of his concern. At this stage the inner life of Man must become more and more dominant, and the inner urge should be to overawe what is commonly known as "sin" or socially accepted taboos; a soul that is not at peace with itself can hardly be expected to be at peace with humanity. And so, in our times, traditional values, such as respect and reverence go tumbling down into the dust-bin of oblivion. And so, in our times, in spite of the inherent suitability of our times, the conflict between Man and his social environment goes on ever increasing.

Above all else there are two things which a child needs, which may appear to be contradictory to one another. A child must have the freedom to grow, in accordance with his natural bent of mind; and he must also, as a young and tender human plant, grow in security. Even parental advice is often misinterpreted by the child as an interference in his right to grow in freedom. On the other hand neglect by parents at that tender and impressionable age may be pounced upon by him as an excuse to defy and denounce parental or all authority later on and to grow into a *wild* young animal. The parents have, therefore, to be most careful in the upbringing of the modern child. A mistake made at the early stage of a child's life may permanently influence his course of life in an undesirable direction.

By this I am not advocating that parents should continue to interfere with the lives of their children even in adolescence. Far from it, when a child is grown up, he wants to live his own life. He wants parental crutches to be removed. He wants to live his own independent life, and he is entitled to it. If parents continue to be as concerned, as possessive, as they were, when their children were young, they are bound to become a burden to their children

arousing their anger, and ultimately the rejection completely, of any outside interference, parental, religious, social—in short, interference from any quarter.

Respect and reverence towards one's elders has always been the measure of the power and greatness of the culture of a nation. In all societies there are to be found individuals, who stand head and shoulder above the common masses, due to their intellectual or moral distinction, who have elicited respect, homage, reverence from the public. Historical experience and evidence tends to prove that it is character rather than academic knowledge alone that has perennially refreshed and renovated mankind.

And often the people that compel respect from others come from the humble families, and not necessarily from the elite or propertied class. There has been an unending wrangling going on regarding the origins of William Shakespeare, attributing to him and to his father many a humble and lowly profession or calling. On the exact nature of such a profession there is argument. What is beyond argument is that Shakespeare arose from humble beginnings. And yet, breathes there a man with soul so dead who does not bow his head in respect to the genius of Shakespeare.

He who does not respect others has, indeed, lost his own self-respect. Showing respect to others may confer a pleasure on him who is respected, it confers ten times more pleasure on him who shows that respect. Being gentle and respectful in society is more powerful than loudness or an exhibition of force or impoliteness. Showing respect to others is a mark of good breeding, just as its absence negates all attempts at affirming oneself to be of good moral character. If one respects oneself, one must respect others. Respect is the shadow of God in Man.

Respect for others, and *reverence* where it is due, is the shadow of God Himself in Man.

He who is not gentle and respectful towards others lacks the first quality that goes to constitute a gentleman.

"Every person has two educations—one, which he receives from others. And one, more important, which he gives to himself", Gibbon has written.

And one must learn to educate oneself to respect others. Such are the people, who can be said to be men of character.

What raises a country in the esteem of the world?
What gives strength to a country ?
What adds to the dignity of a country and its peoples ?
What is it that makes a nation powerful ?
What is it that makes for the moral grandeur of a nation ?
What wins the good-will of others for a nation ?

It is neither talent, nor supremacy, that holds the key to the answer to the above questions.

It is the moral character of a nation that bends before the throne of its majesty the respect of other nations. Character is the conscience of a nation. It is for this reason that Lord Russell once remarked: "Political parties in England ask the assistance of men of genius. But they follow the guidance of only men of character".

"The worth of a state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it", writes John Stuart Mill.

Just as rays of light can pierce through small crevices, similarly do little things that a man does, give a revelation to his character. Whether he is kind or harsh, respectful or resentful to others, these and some more such characteristics could circumscribe the little things that I have used in this context.

Were it not for calamities and cataclysms witnessed by world history, it is inconceiveable that work would have that place in the evolution of individual and social progress that it has today. And without work and struggle, life would have been cold, barren and boresome.

Yes, the storm is capable of laying waste the flowers. But can it harm the seeds. The answer is an emphatic 'No'.

"Children may be strangled. But Deeds never. For, they have an indestructible life", so says John Sterling.

It is a natural human impulse to look upon with contempt ideas and customs different from that one believes in. This emotion gives rise to antagonisms in society, and the intolerance that it breeds is the antithesis of a civilised outlook. When such individuals, highly charged with certain emotional dislikes, group together, they give vent to their feelings in collective hysteria. This tendency in modern society is encouraged due to the fact that in the modern world it is very difficult for an individual to find a place in society. Hence the protests by individuals, known as the angry young men of our times, who are up in arms against established society and the norms that it accepts. This turbulence is inimical to the fine flowering of culture.

Man is not deaf by nature. He has, however, been deafened by the clamour of the world; by his own self-seeking; by the noise of the market-place. But he who has reached a higher stage of life through spiritual evolution, holds his head high above the worldly din, hears the symphony of the stars and the rhapsody of the rivulet. While the deficiencies of the animal kingdom sprawl over the map of Time by only multiplying their own progeny, the evolved Soul has reached timelessness in history by the memorials and monuments that his mind has built on his pilgrimage through Time. His present knowledge and wisdom become more and more spectacular and stupendous, as he draws deep from the far-reaching ancient roots of the experiences of the evolved ones that have preceded him. Such are the immortal ones of history, whose spiritual songs are a source of guidance to succeeding generations. Rich in achievement, yet they are troubled at heart. And their song has always been of humility in the presence of God.

And so I sing :

Ah, what am I, but an insignificant speck,
In a miserable mass of wandering humanity;
And, yet, Your love has imprinted on me immortality;
Your breath moves my pen, and I write my songs,
Laying my humble homage at Your feet.

How ashamed am I of my poverty,
How graciously You accept them,
As if they were priceless treasures,
Meant to keep company for all Eternity.

Scientific truths are reached through an analytical process of reasoning, depending for proof on tangible corroboration of physical facts. But spiritual Truth emerges from the fathomless depths of the Unknown, and he who experiences it is truly in communion with the Unknown. Man deceives himself when he goes on stuffing himself with information and facts, and these tend to make him drunk with the discovery of power. The wherewithal of this power is merely a trapping of his external self. Pleasure dwells not in outward adjustments, but in an inner harmony. There also abides what the great ones of the world have identified as spiritual happiness.

Here are a few lines from one of my poems .

Unasked, into this imperfect world was I ushered,
And found myself caught in a sleepless sleep of forgetting.
I tried to tear the terrifying mask of haunted dreams,
And to seek there tracks that to the Great Beyond would lead me,
My efforts were entombed in the fathomless grave of human hopes,
I surrendered myself to you in the scented chamber of my Soul,
And in a wild delirium I saw a Heavenly Light all things make clear.

Youth is indeed a delectable part of our life. We would like it to be our companion till the end of time. So that when the time comes for youth to make its bow, we would strive to hold it back by force. When the fires of youth are about to be extinguished we would like to feed them with artificial fuel to that they may keep up their glow some time longer. When our sense organs have declined, leaving their best years far behind, we would endeavour to keep up their fervour. When our hands tremble with old age and our grip over things is weak, we would like to continue the suzerainty of our proprietorship. We have lost the capacity to accept the inevitable as inescapable, and so, Time assumes in our

eyes the mask of a conqueror. And, therefore, when Time ushers Death into the chamber of Life, we do not recognize Death as a welcome guest, but struggle with it as an unwanted and hated intruder. We must remember that there are heavenly ports beyond the shores of Existence, and towards those heavens we must sail like willing pilgrims.

The younger generation of our time seems to be in the grip of the hysteria for Revolt, without really and truly understanding why all this Revolt. In Bronte's immortal novel, *Wuthering Heights*, one of the characters in it, Heathcliff, would like to kill everybody on earth, only so that he may be able to gain a girl called Cathy. But he never says that murder is reasonable or justifiable. The theory of his lust for destruction comes to a halt just there, it does not bother about the whys and wherefores. Just as the modern young man, so minded, would like to act as an iconoclast, destroying the existing orders, without having a better alternative to give to the world. This world trend among the angry young men, started after the end of the First World War, seems to be soon becoming the Law of Life of the younger generation.

In our times, the crimes of the younger generation put on the mask of innocence, and they challenge what we know as innocence to justify itself. Decades of revolt, having their roots in social or historical causes, present themselves for our consideration.

Within the last fifty years, the world has witnessed the massacre and uprooting of seventy million human beings. And, yet in spite of this, Man refuses to be what he is—the vice-regent of God on earth. This refusal will inevitably lead him to mass destruction of others. That is why we see that some successful rebellions end up by defending universal murder.

Who is a rebel? The classical definition of a rebel is one who says 'no' to the continuation of a particular state of affairs. His 'no' implies, "So far, I have obeyed, but now I refuse to do so". It will thus be seen that in such a conduct there is some logic, some consistency. But in our times, this classic concept of a rebel seems to have undergone a change. Every young man of our times appears to have been born with a stick in his hand to attack every-

thing established or accepted by society. He does not take that attitude because he believes that he is justified in so rebelling. Although psychologically speaking, rebellion cannot exist without the feeling that in some way or the other you are justified in resorting to protest or to rebel. Similarly, one rebels only after he has experienced a feeling that his rights have been infringed. But the contemporary social scene leads one to observe that the young men in revolt are not activated by any such reasoning. They are just in the grip of an epidemic of revolt. Or they believe it is fashionable to hold in your hand the symbol of revolt.

Commenting on the classic concept of a rebel, Albert Camus writes: "An awakening of conscience, no matter how confused it may be, develops from any act of rebellion and is represented by the sudden realisation that something exists with which the rebel can identify himself—even if only for a moment". In modern trends of revolt of the modern young men, there appears to be no such reasoning or rationalisation.

A rebel may set out to alter an accepted sense of values possibly giving rise to an adopted social belief or faith. According to Lalande, "Values usually represent a transition from facts to rights; from what is desired to what is desirable". If the modern young man had a clear picture that they were out to change the *status quo* to what is desired by them, even then there could be some justification for this revolt. But just to destroy the *status quo*, without a better alternative, or to smother a sense of values without substituting this with another set is to but merely to destroy. It is not those that destroy, but those that build, who are the benefactors of mankind.

"Resentment is an auto-intoxication", Scheler has said.

The rebel does not respect those around him, but demands respect for himself. That is the tragedy of our age. This has become possible because Man in our times is getting farther and farther away from identifying himself with humanity. When one talks about identifying oneself with humanity and such truths that have withstood the test of time, the younger generation would call us old fogies and old fashioned. Their world is surrounded by the

horizons of their own visions, and they wish to live in their deceitful paradise, undisturbed. Such individuals, in fact, do not live in freedom, but in bondage. Among such disgruntled youth is born a fraternity that is in reality in chains.

The rebels would wish to consecrate nihilism. And nihilism is negation of all positive moral values of life. That is why our age is the age of conflict and annihilation through recurring wars and conflicts.

The rebel renounces good and gives birth to evil. To live before the mirror of disobedience and defiance is the pattern of life of the rebel. The rebel does not recognise any law, but his own.

The rebel against society finds faults with society, while the rebel in the realm of metaphysics, rebels against the concept of moral judgment. He would question the superiority of God himself. He denies God in the name of justice, as understood by him. But then, can justice be understood without having belief in the divine justice of God.

If the right to revolt is to triumph, then the right to respect and reverence, sanctified by tradition and custom, must be toppled down from its pedestal. When rebels kill respect and reverence, they only destroy that which should have been their due from their juniors.

Truth has no fixed abode. It leaves foot-prints all over the world in its wanderings for them to follow, who have the eyes to see, and who have the desire to seek it. You have to be attuned to Truth in the present. You cannot journey towards it and reach it in the future. Truth is the essence of Eternity. One who would wish to follow the Truth should have no thought of reward. Because Truth is its own highest reward.

Religion brings about an awareness that kindles within one the flame of Truth.

Religion with its beliefs, its disciplines, its promise and hope for a blissful life after death, leads one to righteous behaviour and

conduct in life, towards brotherliness, towards love. There are some who willingly obey such dictates of religion, and become truly respectful towards others in all their dealings, even though they may differ from them. On the other hand, there are others who protest against the promptings of religion. Such are the ones that set up their own authority to order their attitudes to life and its problems. They set up their own authority, where 'I' is the supreme dictator. They are in revolt against established codes of behaviour. They are at war with their surroundings, and, therefore, they are at war with themselves.

Modern young men are at the cross-roads of Life. The choice is theirs, whether they take the road marked "Respect and Reverence", or whether they take the road marked "Revolt".

But let me warn here that decision of modern youth will profoundly influence the future course of world history.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
18 May, 1972.

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[illegible]
[illegible] May, 1972.

M. A. MUNIM

I am personally grateful and, on behalf of the Hamdard National Foundation, thank the learned Guest Speaker, Mr. M.A. Munim, for kindly accepting our invitation to speak at Sham-i-Hamdard, *this evening, on the "Dignity of Labour". Because of his great experience and deep relations with the employer and labour management, I am sure, his realistic approach to the problem specially during these days of turmoil, will be very interesting as well as thought-provoking for us all.*

Our approach to Labour, let it be used in both ways, is not realistic in consonance with the tenets of Islam. It is devoid of the real human spirit, devoid of mutual understanding, devoid of human relationship and devoid of dignity of man to man. It is deprived of virtue and moral sanctity. If only the religious approach is given full quantum, I am sure, many distressing realities which are being faced today and this turmoil, which is trampling on the very basis of human existence, would have been so amicably settled up and a new horizon of tranquillity dawned on the onward march of human progress.

Once again I would lay emphasis on this basic point that the turmoil with which we are grappling and the whole working machinery seems to be at standstill which is the result of our deprivation of the spiritual aspect of our life. In these days of technology and human progress, the fundamental basis of life has been forgotten and to regain that basis, our reversion to Islam is a must. I am sure, our learned Guest Speaker will show us the path, on which if we revert in a true sense, the Dignity of Labour would be established, human relationship properly understood, and the problem of Labour would automatically be solved with dignity.

Mr. Munim is at present Senior Management Counsellor, West Pakistan Institute of Management, W.P.I.D.C., Karachi. After passing his B.Sc., LL.B., LL.M., examination, from the Osmania University, he worked as Assistant Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat, Hyderabad Deccan, from 1944 *to* 1948. *He came to Pakistan in the Foreign Service of Hyderabad Government as Second Secretary and Public Relations Officer to the Agent-General in Pakistan from* 1948 *to* 1952. *Then he worked as Employment and Labour Relation Manager in General Motors' Overseas Corporation, Karachi, upto* 1963. *His services to W.P.I.D.C. are an asset to this country.*

Hakim Mohammed Said



M. A. MUNIM

EHTERAM-I-MEHNAT

(Dignity of Labour)

M.A. Munim

I am extremely grateful to the Organizers of *Sham-i-Hamdard* for affording me an opportunity to express my views on such a vital topic as "Dignity of Labour" before the distinguished gathering this evening.

A close look into the history would show that dignity of labour has always been the hall-mark of civilization. The extent of civilization at a given time was always measured in terms of the degree of acceptance of dignity of labour. Most of the uncivilized societies in the ancient times were characterized by lack of human dignity and reducing the human values to servitude and exploitation whereas the Holy *Qur'an* says that 'We have produced you from the best of species'.

لقد خلقنا الانسان فی احسن تقویم

On the other hand the civilizations, spread with the recognition of people and dignity of labour in the society, have made most valuable contributions. As a matter of fact, the entire progress and advancement that we see around us today in every walk of life is largely due to the hard work and ceaseless efforts of the people. The economic supremacy, the technological achievements, and the scientific advancements made by the developed countries like United States of America, Russia, China and Japan is the direct result of the hard work and labour of their peoples, and the acceptance of the concept of dignity of labour.

Life is not a victory but it is a constant battle. Victory crowns the head that toils and works hard. There are some people in this world who tread under the wrong notion that success in life is dependent

upon luck or chance and that they can achieve glory without hard work or labour. The road to success in life is full of difficulties and vicissitudes. It is labour and hard work alone that can enable man to surmount these difficulties and rise to eminence. Labour is indispensable in every walk of life. It is only through hard work and toil that we can carve out a bright future for the country and for the people. By working continuously we can develop our concealed abilities, expand our mind and improve our health. The famous Fnglish poet, Milton, says:

"Man is born to scorn delight and live laborious days".

People have their own philosophies about life. Some hold the belief "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow you die". There are others who believe in cutting away from the joys and amenities of life. There are a few who like the thrill and excitement. For a soldier fighting is a beautiful dream, for a mountaineer life is an adventure and for a poet life is an empty dream. There are some who are power hungry and there are others who find happiness in profound meditation and solitary contemplation. All these people feel happiness in life only in a given sphere and this outward mirth is without a grain of inward happiness. There is no real pleasure or happiness in this empty show and vanity of life. The real happiness and success lies in obeying the voice of conscience. The root of such success and happiness is labour and hard work, without which nothing can be achieved.

When we work we produce something or in other words we can say that creation is the direct outcome of labour. Labour, therefore, reflects the godly qualities in human beings. To respect and uphold the dignity of labour is to salute the godly qualities which are bestowed upon man by God. In this context I shall quote a couplet from Lord Tennyson:

"We are not here to play, to dream, to drift,
We have work to do and load to lift,
Shun not struggle that is God's Gift".

The concept of the dignity of man and his integrity of character is the foundation of all religions and ethics and it will not be in-

correct to say that almost all the religious systems are based upon the basic assumption of dignity of human beings. All the prophets of Islam have not only upheld the dignity of labour but also gave practical demonstrations to reinforce their assertions. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had adopted the profession of sheep-grazing and commerce to earn his livelihood. There are many *Ahadees* whereby the Prophet exhorted his followers to earn a dignified livelihood and not to live on charities and philanthropies. The most striking instance of dignity of labour during the life of Prophet is the one when a poor man approached the Prophet for some monetary help to ward off starvation. The Prophet collected some money from the *Sahabees* present around him and gave that money to the poor man with the advice that he should buy a hatchet to cut wood and earn his living. This instance amply demonstrates the importance and significance attached by our Prophet to the dignity of labour.

There are also many other *Ahadees* which highlight the concept of dignity of labour in Islam:

"Give the labour his wages before his sweat is dried".
(Bukhari and Muslim)

It is mentioned in Tabrani that

"God likes a man who earns his own living and who is a *Momin*".

There is another *Hadees* in *Hakim* which says that

"The best of my followers are those people who work in adverse circumstances".

It is mentioned in Ibn-i-Asakir that once a man came to Prophet Muhammad and enquired about a *Tabeeb*. Prophet replied to him that working with one's own hands is more than going to a *Tabeeb*. This shows that work in itself is a device for developing a healthy body and a healthy mind.

To work is human and it is in the nature of the man to toil and work. If human beings possess enough money and are not

compelled to work they will find an outlet for work in hobbies and other activities of life to fulfil this urge. To accord dignity to labour will, therefore, be natural. Honest toil has never gone unrewarded and efforts of men who labour are sure to be crowned with success sooner or later.

Great people, who flashed like a tremendous meteor in the firmament of history and left a trail of dazzling glory, had an eventful and stormy life and they reached the pinnacle of their glory only after undergoing the tortures of hard work and toil. A great English poet, E. Henley, says :

> "Heights by greatmen reached and kept,
> Were not allowed by sudden flight,
> For they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling hard upward in the night".

There are many people in this world who have forsaken their salvation and in its place they have accepted the pomp and pleasure of worldly life. They are being driven by their unruly and inordinate desires and they work and speak on behalf of these desires only with the result they failed to achieve success. For such persons Hazrat Ali has said :

> "To give up inordinate desires is the best kind of wealth and fortune. But one, who hopes inordinately, impairs the standard of his work".

Dependence on others creates distrust in one's own power and leads to idleness and inactivity. It has a demoralizing influence on character. A self-reliant man does not depend on others for help but uses his own judgement and his own powers in facing difficulties. Self-reliance is a great virtue which infuses full confidence and one is not discouraged by failures or disheartened by reverses. It is an inestimable quality in human beings to face the daily struggle of life. It contributes largely to attaining success and to fulfil ambition and aspirations of life.

In the end I shall conclude by saying that in Pakistan unfortunately the entire fabric of our society is stratified on the basis

of different professions, beliefs, and creeds etc. with the result that certain professions are looked down with scorn and contempt. People engaged in such professions have no respect or status in our society. Because of this hatred people sometimes feel shy to affiliate themselves with certain professions. This class distinction is unislamic and adversely affects the social mobility of our people. If we have to survive and progress as a nation and to develop a healthy society, we have to remove this stigma as early as possible. This can be achieved by making concerted efforts to educate our children and our masses on the importance and significance of dignity of labour and the impact it has on our society, and the nation as a whole.

In a developing country like Pakistan, the proper utilization of human resource and according dignity of labour is both a social challenge and an economic requirement. For a higher standard of living, therefore, productive labour and greater efficiency in all economic activities is the prime requisite. Increased productivity by according dignity of labour should, therefore, be considered as an important objective to which the government, the business and the people at large, should subscribe work for.

The absence of dignity of labour always creates conflicts between man and man. The present day unrest and strife in our country provides ample testimony to this fact. It is futile to attempt to overcome the problem by putting some procedures here and there. These things have their own importance but what is more true is to look for an equilibrium between labour and management based on the recognition of dignity of labour and significance of man.

Labour should also not be devoid of a sense of direction or sense of purpose. For labour without purpose will be meaningless. It should cater to the needs of mind and heart and so labour must uphold the human values and should not be devoid of the spiritual earnings of the people. It is only then that the labour will be on the highest pedestal of life.

In a highly competitive society like ours with many economic difficulties and set-backs, most of our problems are caused by disregard of people, and need for belonging and acceptance. To-day

we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if our civilization is to survive we must cultivate the art and science of dealing with people, so that we can live together and work together in peace, and harmony, accepting and recognizing the human right and dignity of labour.

Sham-i Hamdard, Karachi.
15 June, 1972.

MR. JUSTICE A.R. CORNELIUS

AFTER an absence of over four months, I feel happy to be back among you and take up the reins of all my activities once again. The trip abroad has not been purposeless—I have returned brimming full of ideas, my feelings and sensitivities sharpened by the observations, and experiences of a crowded one hundred days. At the same time, I am overwhelmed with sadness at the recent tragic happenings in the country, the bitterness and rancour which could have been avoided if a true sense of charity, understanding and patriotism had prevailed. I hope that the spirit of goodwill among men, goodwill born of 'Ehteram' *will triumph in the end. Man lives not by bread alone, but by beauty and harmony, truth and goodness, work and play, affection and friendship, aspiration and worship, seeking and finding, creating and co-operating, serving and sharing.*

It is the spirit of seeking and finding, creating, co-operating, serving and sharing that has prompted the institution of Sham-i-Hamdard *and its dedication this year to the subject of* 'Ehteram'. *Respect to the poor and poverty is one of its facets and will be the theme of our Guest Speaker's address.*

It is said that there are only two great families in this world—the Haves and the Have-nots. So much has been written, heard and witnessed about both, the triumph of riches and the degradation of poverty and vice versa. *Poverty is the mother of all the arts and trade. Poverty is not a shame, but the being ashamed of it is, says Thomas Fuller. The Poor create an aristocracy, not an aristocracy of power, based upon rank, wealth or influence, but an aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate and the plucky. Thousands of them perish in obscurity, a few are great names. The greatest men in history, the prophets, were the poorest. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) himself declared in ecstasy of praise of the poor man and said that he liked to live as a poor man, to die as a poor man and to have resurrection with the poor.*

Mu'az b. Jabal reported that the Messenger of Allah said: "The gift of the believer in this world is poverty".

In Tirmizi's Ibn-Majah *we read as follows :*

"Anas reported that the Messenger of Allah said; "O Allah! let me live a poor man, die a poor man and resurrect me in the company of the poor". Hazrat Ayesha inquired: "Why, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Verily, they will enter Paradise forty years before the rich. O Ayesha! don't turn away the poor without giving although it be a piece of date. O Ayesha! love the poor and let them come to you. For verily Allah will take you near Him on the Resurrection Day".

Almighty Allah gives poverty to those whom He loves. Greater duties and responsibilities have been imposed upon the rich such as zakat, *while the poor have been exempted from these. Poverty is the mother of all the arts and trade and is no bar to progress and advancement. It is, therefore, the duty of each one of us, not only to ourselves but to future generations of men, to have a clear understanding of what has been taught about poverty and recognise its rights, privileges and dignity, for has it not been said; "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the Kingdom of God".*

Mr. Justice A.R. Cornelius, who is our Guest Speaker this evening, has a secure place among the eminents in Pakistan and among the internationals. He has a career of great variety and brilliance and is reputed for his monumental studies in Islamic law. His active and enlightened mind reaches out to encompass many other fields. He is distinguished for his style, the subtlety of his understanding and the rich humanity that underlines his character.

Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqui, who presides over this Sham-i-Hamdard, *is equally well-known—nationally and internationally. Eminent both as a research scientist and educationist, he has profoundly influenced whole generations of students who passed through the portals of the Universities of Sind and Islamabad.*

To both of them, I would like to express my gratitude, for responding to my invitation and gracing the platform of Sham-i-Hamdard. *I have no doubt that in their learned hands, the evening will prove mentally instructive and stimulating.*

Hakim Mohammed Said

RESPECT FOR POVERTY AND THE POOR

Mr. Justice A.R. Cornelius

TO many of my hearers, the task which I have undertaken may appear a difficult one."How", they may ask, "is one expected to develop respect for direct unsightliness, disorderliness, disease. Respect can only be felt for something which one values for its own sake, that arouses feelings of esteem or honour, extending to admiration or reverence where the degree of superiority is undeniable, but at the least, calling for approbation and courtesy on an equal level. We have human sympathies, of course. We do not despise or ridicule the poverty-stricken. We help wherever we can to relieve acute distress. But respect is quite another matter".

How do we understand the word "respect". Every human being, in a world of unequal moral and material values, must entertain feelings of respect for some person or institution, who or which excites in him feelings of regard and consideration, calling for exercise of the qualities of courtesy and attention. It is a part of duty as a member of a community, concerned to maintain inter-social relations in a healthy and progressive condition. Unless all the members display these qualities in sufficient measure, co-existence is precarious. If harmony in progress is to be assured, the community must be equipped with institutions which ensure justice and equality in relation, at least, to the minimal requirements of human existence. It may seem axiomatically to be a basic of progress that the standard of these minimal requirements should itself be steadily improved, but under the impulses of a money economy, the effort gets confined to the upper echelons that exercise total control, and the poor tend increasingly to be left to their own devices to eke out a bare and inadequate existence. How great is the power of a money economy can be gauged from the fact that a Poor Persons League

in the world's richest country, the United States of America, has recently claimed that the minimum provision for a poor family in that country should be fixed at $4,500 a year. That is the equivalent of Rs. 50,000 a year in our money, which approximates to the highest salary of a public servant and perhaps also to the allowance drawn by a junior member of the richest families in Pakistan.

It is common to speak of the poor as being blessed, in the sense that they will receive a rich reward in the after-life. Much has been written, in touching words, on those lines. To undergo the extremes of misery in this life is supposed to ensure a place in the lap of the Patriarch Abraham in the next life. Even if such a belief is superficially held by those who are comfortable, it does nothing to enhance the respect in which they hold the least fortunate of their brethren in this life. Poverty, in their eyes is, on earth, its own reward.

In economic theory, governed by considerations of the national dividend, the poor man is thought of as a rascal, an incompetent, an incurably idle and thriftless person. Transference of resources from the rich to the poor must, in his view, damage the national dividend, unless deterrent conditions are attached so that what a person provides for himself corresponds to what he contributes to the national dividend. That condition is a practical impossibility. Poor Laws in various countries have, in the past, made provision for relief to widows with children who are left without means, but only to the extent, carefully worked out, that they cannot provide for themselves by sewing, knitting, doing washing or other domestic work for others. The aspect that the woman renders a service by being a member of the community, and that she is making a notable contribution to it, by caring for and bringing up her children to be, in their turn, full members of that community, does not come uppermost in these calculations. The respect shown to the preservation of the national dividend and its distribution on the lines laid down by those in control of affairs far exceeds any feeling of respect for the donees, as human beings entitled to live as the Creator intended to, in a human community.

No enhancement of respect for this section of a community can be expected on these lines. But in every society, such a section

is invariably found to exist. "The poor ye have always with you" is the truest of all sayings, and by now it should have sunk in that, however a society may order the utilisation and distribution of its material goods, it is a necessary condition of its existence that there should be, within it, a section of deprived persons who are living at the very margin of material existence. Even under a thorough-going welfare system, organised on the most modern lines, there is to be found a stratum of persons in that condition. Their presence, their way of life, their habitations are deemed to be a blot on the fair face of the nation, and important visitors from abroad are carefully kept away from the sight. But, within the country itself, concealment is not possible. The slums, the shanty towns in the greatest cities stand out like a "sore thumb", as the saying goes.

The simile has an impact on my theme. A sore thumb cannot be ignored by the person who suffers it. His integrated system of nerves and blood supply, and all the curative agencies that are built into his body will, so far from ignoring the affected member, gather round it and apply all their resources to secure relief for it. That is an imperative of the structure and of the survival mechanisms that are provided by the Creator for every living animal unit. The rest of the body which is in a healthy condition becomes identified with the injured member in its suffering, and makes the maximum contribution to the relief of that suffering, regardless of the cost to itself. There is concern, and with concern goes respect.

At this point, I will take your leave to quote to you a verse from the Holy *Qur'an*, which furnishes a clue to the basis of the respect, which in the view I am presenting, every community owes to its poorest section. It is the 28th verse in the 31st *Sura*, entitled *Luqman*, and reads as follows :

ما خلقكم ولا بعثكم إلا كنفس واحدة

The verse is variously interpreted in different translations. Yusuf Ali gives the following rendering :

"And your creation and your resurrection is in no wise but as an individual soul".

Arberry's translation is as follows :

"Your creation and your upraising are but as a single soul".

A more recent interpretation by Pir Salahuddin puts it in the following words :

"Your creation and your evolution are just like a single soul".

The words are addressed to humanity in general, and to Muslim communities in particular, as the context shows. The parallel is clearly drawn. Without claiming any capacity for religious exegesis, and with the humility that is appropriate to the understanding of a declaration in revealed scripture, I seek your permission to express my preference for the last-mentioned of these renderings. A "single soul" means to me a single human being, blessed with and conscious of a soul. The reference to خلق to my mind embraces the entire structure of a human being, which the Holy *Qur'an* itself declares to have been fashioned in the finest mould. The intensely detailed and finely adjusted components that constitute the substance of all living things, and in particular, the human species is only now being appreciated in the world of science by the use of God-given faculties and inspiration. The full meaning of the words :

لقد خلقنا الانسان فی احسن تقویم

still remains to be opened out to human understanding. It is with this integrated and perfected system that operates in every human individual that the comparison is drawn, in my humble opinion, and it is declared also that a community shall increase and grow until its full development, in the same way as from his birth, a child grows to full maturity, as an integrated being.

The accent, for the purposes of my argument, is on the integrity of these complicated structures. It is in that sense that it has been said "Ye are members one of another", and the saying is equally true of groups and sections of a community, distinguished from one another by their functions and conditions. The poorer section may be for the groups who are comfortable in the material sense, likened to a "sore thumb", a member whose suffering impresses itself on the rest of the body and calls for relief through the exercise of all the powers and faculties of the nervous system, the blood supply, the

anti-bodies that resist and reject disease and heal injuries, and the brain that devises ways and means to apply remedies.

It is not indeed a case of identification with the suffering member. Rather, it may be described as an obsession with the duty of utilising all the other faculties and agencies of the integrated system for the removal of the suffering. It is in that sense that I place before you the proposition that, in a community that is integrated in the way of Allah, the condition of the poor section should constantly excite in the rest of the community obsessive feelings of concern exciting action for the provision of relief, not in the way of giving to another, but in the way of serving oneself. It is on that basis that I press upon you the necessity of feeling respect for the poor, a true concern founded upon a conviction that they are a real and necessary part of the same integrated system in which all of us are involved. To regard them as a calamity, a necessary evil is wholly wrong.

The sentiment is not one which begins and ends in the psychic sphere. It is necessarily attached to the faculty of action with which humanity is endowed. Different types of action have been taken to meet the need under various governmental systems, which have formulated their own principles to provide a basis. In a Muslim country, we must necessarily ascertain and follow the principles laid down in the Holy Scriptures of Islam, guided as to implementation by the practice of those early leaders to whom those principles appeared in their clearest and purest light. On the administrative side, I cannot do better than quote to you the inspiring words addressed by Hazrat Ali, at the very inception of Islamic government, to a newly appointed Governor of the Province of Egypt named Malik Ashtar. The references to the poor are in these terms :

> "Beware! Fear God when dealing with the problem of the poor who have none to patronise them, who are forlorn, indigent and helpless, and are greatly torn in mind, victims to the vicissitudes of time. For God's sake, safeguard their rights, for on you rests the responsibility of protection. Assign for their uplift a portion of the State exchequer, the *Bait-ul-Mal*......Do not let any preoccupations cause them to slip from your mind, for no excuse whatsoever for the disregard of their rights will

be acceptable to God. Do not treat their interests as of less importance than your own........Make such provision for these poor people as shall not oblige you to offer an excuse before God on the Day of Judgement........".

That is a brief extract, but it may be sufficient to indicate that the governmental obligation to the poor is an obligation to God and, therefore, totally inescapable, and that the agents of government should serve the interests of the poor as if they were their own interests. In that early period, funds for the purpose were available out of government revenues, for the obligation to pay *zakat* was universally observed. As is well-known, the force of this obligation has steadily declined through the centuries, so that today, *zakat* contributions are almost entirely voluntary. I say "almost", since in our country, a wealth tax is levied under laws, which, however, have been imitated from non-Muslim countries. Wealth tax obliges only at a level of wealth far above the standard of the common person, and thus leaves a very large stratum of society free to donate what they will to the relief of the poor. Moreover, the proceeds of wealth tax are not earmarked for the poor.

On the other hand, *zakat* is specifically a poor tax, the payment of which is a duty enjoined on the faithful in the way of regular charity. It falls on every person who is possessed of wealth in excess of his own proper needs, and is applicable to such excess as well as to his capital goods. In theory, a person who has the minimum prescribed amount to spare, if he is true to his faith, must donate two and a half per cent for the relief of the poor. So regarded, *zakat* clearly lays down an economic principle, calculated to operate against the tendency of wealth, in hands, to accumulate at the higher level and thus cause restriction of means and consequent atrophy of human strength and endeavour at the lower levels. *Zakat* seems to me to incorporate the same principle which is operative in the distribution of life-giving water over the earth. From every piece of water, large or small, and even from land that retains a surplusage of water, the precious element is drawn by the fierce heat of the sun into the upper atmosphere and forms clouds which are driven by the winds so that at the right seasons they spread over the areas where water is needed for the restoration and continuation of all forms of life. Money and goods are the life blood of any

economy, but in human experience, it is found that they do not possess the quality of running down to the lowest levels, and consequently, in all regulated economies, it has been necessary to formulate principles with supporting laws to counteract this tendency. The law of *zakat* is, in all probability, the first of such laws, and to my mind, it is a matter of regret, that it has not been put into operation during the centuries of economic development. It may well have been found to be, in itself, a sufficient instrumentality for securing even distribution of economic means among the people of every nation, and thus ensuring a healthy combination of effort, in the material world, by all sections of the community. The question arises: Can a practicable system for recovery of *zakat* be introduced in Pakistan. It seems obvious that the mechanism would have to be formulated anew, while retaining the principle.

Some four years ago, in a speech to a Rotary Conference in Peshawar, I had made a suggestion, with the object of diverting, to a governmental organisation, that part of each citizen's self-assessed *zakat* contribution which he was not able himself to distribute among the prescribed categories of donees. I was impressed by the fact that the instinct of charity was very much alive in Pakistan. A single outstanding instance is that no less than fifteen lakhs of rupees are donated every year anonymously at the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh. A very large number of persons do, in fact, distribute *zakat* to deserving donees. At the same time there is a crying need to supplement such individual efforts, through organised agencies, for reaching relief to a very large number of poor persons who are living at the margin of existence, through failure of means for which they are not responsible. Such are the people laid low by incurable diseases, the infirm and aged, and many others, whom individual donors cannot be expected to reach.

The idea I put forward was that the Government should issue *zakat* bonds each year, in the months of *Muharram* and *Ramazan*, which donors could buy out of their self-assessed *zakat* contribution to the extent that they felt unable to distribute suitably themselves. The proceeds would be credited to a *Zakat* Fund. To ensure accountability on the part of the Government, the bonds would carry a rate of profit, which would be credited to the Fund. The bonds

could be made deductible for purposes of income-tax, and might, subject to restrictions, be treated as payments towards wealth tax.

This formulation of the method by which the citizenry could be enabled to meet their religious obligation to donate from their surplus assets for the benefit of their less fortunate brethren, involves a measure of socialization, in the sense of a corporate effort in a field calling for intervention by the public authorities. This is indeed an essential element of the principle of *zakat*, and is requisite also in view of the growing complexity of society. At the same time, it does not curtail the individual's liberty of action, in the field of personal benevolence, which is a basic feature of the institution of *zakat*. It supplements that liberty, by providing institutional means, backed by public responsibility, whereby each person's voluntary contribution can be made to reach the proper goal, which is to all people in real need, the indispensable means of human maintenance. Without institutionalization, that assurance would not be available.

The principal institution that I had suggested was a Central Zakat Board, with the Vice-President of Pakistan at its head, composed of persons of high standing in public life, including among their number the Auditor-General of Pakistan and a number of outstanding figures in the profession of public accountancy, to ensure accountability. Accountability is a feature that does not, in any country, figure prominently in the administration of charitable funds, but with reference to *zakat* contributions, which are made in the cause of holy religion, it must be insisted upon. There would, of course, also be Provincial Board. Again, I had proposed that administrative costs should be kept to a minimum, by the utilization of existing agencies of the land revenue administration and local government staffs, which are directly in touch with the common people. There was no need for first-class hospitals or other prestigious public buildings, and the paraphernalia commonly associated with governmental agencies, such as flagged staff cars, free telephones, supplementary allowances should be avoided. In order that the largest number of persons in all grades of society should be enabled to join in the work, so that not only the making of contributions, but also the implementation of relief becomes a matter of socialized obligation, the fullest use should be made of voluntary agencies,

which could be organised for the purpose. The Zakat Boards would present reports annually to the Central and Provincial Assemblies, as a means of securing public approbation of its work. The visible sign and proof of their work would be provided by the existence and efficiency of its operations, and to strengthen the faith of the contributing public in this behalf, it could be provided that donors could specify in what area they would wish that their contributions should be spent. Emphasis would be laid on the need for the organisation not to content itself with aiding persons applying for relief, but itself to seek out the needy and helpless and carry relief to them. *Patwaris* in the villages and ward officials at that level in towns could be trusted to know in detail where there is real need. As confidence grows in the efficiency of the operation, contributions can be expected to increase, but they would decrease and the Scheme would fail if the cases were otherwise.

These are the principal features of the Scheme that I envisaged. It is subject to objection, and indeed serious objection, on grounds mostly based on the practice in this respect in centuries now long past. I recognise the weight of these objections, for tradition and past practice are elements of great force in the Islamic concept. But I would plead for serious thought to be applied to the problem, so that without the least loss of principle, *zakat* may be made properly operative in Pakistan. The problem of poverty, which has been left to look after itself for centuries, should not be allowed to be pushed into the background.

In Muslim States, the problem of poverty has been given prominence from the very inception of Muslim administration. The words of Hazrat Ali still stand as a warning to all administrators :

> "Do not let any preoccupations cause the poor to slip from your mind, for no excuse whatsoever for the disregard of their rights will be acceptable to God.......Make such provision for these poor people as shall not oblige you to offer an excuse before God on the Day of Judgement".

I believe that, in Pakistan, the vast majority of people do feel concern for the lot of the poor in their midst, and that they do so out of community feeling, out of respect and not in any patronising

manner. I believe that this majority is prepared to make contributions for their relief by way of *zakat*, and that through *zakat*, sufficient transfer of resources can be secured, not only so that such relief may be provided, but also for general betterment of the economic system. *Zakat* is based on human respect for a section of humanity whose existence is a necessary condition of every human community. *Zakat* fulfils a high religious obligation and it cannot fail to bring upon the nation the blessings of the Almighty.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
1 August, 1972.

HIS GRACE, MOST REV. DR. JOSEPH CORDEIRO

AFTER an absence of over four months, I feel happy to be back among you and take up the reins of all my activities once again. The trip abroad has not been purposeless. I have returned brimming full of ideas, my feelings and sensitivities sharpened by the observations and experiences of a crowded one hundred days. At the same time, I am overwhelmed with sadness at the recent tragic happenings in the country, the bitterness and rancour which could have been avoided if a true sense of charity, understanding and patriotism had prevailed. I hope that the spirit of goodwill among men, goodwill born of 'ehteram' *will triumph in the end. Man lives not by bread alone, but by beauty and harmony, truth and goodness, work and play, affection and friendship, aspiration and worship, seeking and finding, creating and co-operating, serving and sharing.*

We are greatly honoured in having two very eminent personalities, one a high-ranking ecclesiastic, His Grace, the Most Reverend Dr. Joseph Cordeiro, Archbishop of Karachi, who is the Guest Speaker this afternoon. The other personality represents the temporal order, Mr. Justice Qadeeruddin Ahmad, retired Chief Justice of Sind and Baluchistan High Court, who will preside at this Sham-i-Hamdard.

Mr. Justice Qadeeruddin Ahmad has addressed Sham-i-Hamdard *before and hardly needs an introduction to this audience. If you were court-minded, you may have seen him at court, if social, at gatherings, and if scholarly, at cultural events and occasions. He has made a life-long pursuit of objective truth and his influence stretches beyond mere courts and jurisprudence.*

His Grace, although not new to Karachi, is new to Sham-i-Hamdard. *While offering him our thanks for accepting our invitation to speak, I offer a tribute to his simplicity, gentleness, a breadth of*

interest in the history of ideas of learning and although elevated by rank, keeps in touch with the common man, by preaching and practising ecumenism.

We have the misfortune, or the good luck, to be living in one of the great critical historical periods, when the whole structure of our society and its cultural and metaphysical values are undergoing a radical change. In periods of steady evolution, it is possible for the common man to pursue his private life without bothering his head very much over the principles and assumptions by which he lives, and to leave politics in the hands of the professionals. But ours is not such an age. The world is divided into hostile ideological camps, and democracy, liberty, justice and reason are being seriously threatened and in many parts of the world. It is the duty of every one of us, not only to ourselves but to future generations of man, to examine the causes of conflict and to have a clear understanding of the issues, and to defend what we believe to be right, perhaps even at the cost of our lives and those of others. For every man has a right to live in dignity and respect, not through coercion and physical violence, but in charity, love and justice.

Today our distinguished Guest Speaker will speak on the 'Dignity of Justice, and the Law of the Land, These are undervalued and often misunderstood and misused words. Justice is often confused with law and the moral order. While there is only a hairline distinction between them, yet justice has an entity and integrity of its own, because justice is the idea *of God and the* ideal *of men, the first virtue of those who command and stop the complaint of those who obey. An Arab proverb rightly says "One hour in doing justice is worth a* 100 *days in prayer". Is it not said time and again in the Holy Books, that justice is an attribute of God Himself and a condition to attain Everlasting Life. I quote from the Holy* Qur'an, Sura *XVI verse* 90:

> *"God commands justice, the doing of good and liberality to kith and kin, and He forbids all shameful deeds, and injustice and rebellion: He instructs you that you may receive admonition".*

Throughout history great figures, legislators, philosophers and dispensers of justice, appear: Plato, Aristotle, Solon, Hammurabi, Manu, Moses, Solomon, St.Thomas Aquinas, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke,



HIS GRACE MOST REV. DR. JOSEPH CORDEIRO
(From left: Mr. Justice Qadeeruddin Ahmad
and Hakim Mohammed Said)

Kant, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and a host of others preoccupied with justice and ethics.

Today also, justice is on trial ! I repeat justice is on trial, and when this is so, liberty and democracy and individual freedom are in grave danger, breeding conflict, survival of the fittest and the law of the jungle.Injustice comes in when there is a conflict between moral values and an imbalance of personal and transpersonal values. This manifests weakness of character and lack of responsibility on the part of leaders in affected countries, of short-sightedness in the democracies which prevent any vigorous counter-attack. These current events bring us unimaginable sorrow, and nothing will remain except a few pitiful pages in history-books to picture to the youth of future generations the follies of its ancestors.

Hakim Mohammed Said

THE DIGNITY OF JUSTICE AND THE LAW OF THE LAND

His Grace, Most Rev. Dr. Joseph Cordeiro

ANYONE hearing the title of this paper, 'The Dignity of Justice and the Law of the Land', may get the impression that what follows is going to be a theoretical exposition in praise of Justice as a virtue. Nothing could be further from that in my mind, because what strikes one today is not Justice in its observance but in its violation, not Justice in its dignity but in its degradation, and that is why it becomes increasingly imperative for us to know that Justice means and realizes its demands in the practical working-out of our lives foi the betterment of society.

Alone among all creatures on earth, Man has a sense of destiny. He is haunted by the conviction that he is more than an animal even though he cannot deny his unmistakeable kinship with myriad lesser forms of life which are—or have shared—his environment. This inborn conviction stems from the biblical reminder that Man is made "in the image and likeness of God" in respect of those qualities of the spirit which set him apart from all other creatures.

And these qualities are founded on Justice, which is at the very heart of the biblical message. In all its simplicity of application, it means knowing and loving God for Himself and loving one's fellowman for the sake of God—the two cannot be separated; they constitute two aspects of the same love. The first without the second is hypocritical, while the second without the first is meaningless.

In the world today, the problem of Justice or rather the widespread incidence of injustice has acquired major proportions. Justice is everywhere loudly proclaimed, but blatantly flouted. It is on everyone's lips, but is hardly found in men's hearts. When Justice

among men ceases to exist, God becomes unknown. Where unjust, social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities arise in consequence, the gift of the Lord's peace is rejected; and even more, God Himself is relegated to secondary place in human affairs.

Casting a cursory glance through the evolution of human history, we discover the sad plight into which mankind has fallen as a result of man's failure to realize the dignity of Justice and its impact on society—that the Justice of God is nothing else but His love striving to deliver Man from the shackles of evil; and that the corresponding Justice required to Man is his abiding faithfulness to God which must also find expression in the straight-forwardness of his dealings with his fellowmen.

To make men realize this dignity of Justice, and the gravity of Injustice, God took infinite pains. Repeatedly the prophets, those stalwart men of God who arose in history to safeguard the transmission of truth, cried out against the widespread infidelity to God, and against Man's oppression of the poor, of widows, and of orphans. At times such was the injustice inflicted by man upon man that the rich gorged and drank in regal splendour while the poor could be bought and sold in the slave markets, literally for the price of a pair of sandals. But even worse than this socio-economic injustice is that subtle form of injustice—which persists even today—by which unjust men sought justification for their deeds under the cloak of formal religion. It was this two-faced hypocrisy that evoked a severe public rebuke from Jesus Christ Who sternly warned His followers: "Unless your justice abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven". If I may be allowed to denounce it openly, then I would say that this is the sin of the twentieth-century Man.

The recent assembly of the Catholic bishops of the world, known as the Second Vatican Council, held between the years 1962-65, was precisely summoned to face up to this problem of Man's faith being weakened by the secularism of the day, and the consequence of Man trying to cloak his doubts, difficulties, and even disbelief under formal acts of religion.

Ten years have passed since the Second Vatican Council convened to raise the issue of world injustice. Since then the basic and

unjust imbalance between the world's wealth and world's poverty has not changed. Statistics have confirmed the alarming fact that three-fourths of the world's economic resources are controlled and enjoyed by one-fourth of the world's population, while three-fourths of the world's population eke out a day-to-day existence on barely one meal a day. And this picture seems to grow even darker as the technological gap widens between the developed countries and those so-called developing countries, struggling far behind. This is a glaring injustice that cries to God, Who made all men equal, to share and enjoy the fruits of the earth, and called all to live as brothers.

But for us to take practical stock at this state of affairs, let us make note of the reasons. There are many but for the sake of brevity, it will suffice to give only one.

In the aftermath of World War II the conscience of many a nation was pricked to induce it to seek the economic development of the vanquished and those struggling towards the threshold of the modern technological community. But today, the wealthier nations of the world appear steadily less committed, less concerned, and less willing in their approach to world development. During the last three months alone, at the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) meetings, held in Chile, we have seen the financial leaders of the developed nations discuss the future of the whole gamut of international trade without making a single notable concession to the three-fourths of humanity in developing lands, who depend on the richer nations for any hope of further economic and technological advance.

To this economic injustice, let me add three other burning questions or forms of injustice.

Massive urbanization has brought distress of the aged, exploitation of the weak, technological unemployment that eliminates whole categories of workers and the creation of new proletariats, exploitation of sex, drug traffic, and threat to family life.

There are close to 800,000,000 illiterate adults, while nearly half of all children fail to get any formal education; and despite the in-

crease in absolute numbers receiving education, the percentage is actually below that achieved in the sixties, owing to the population growth.

And finally, war rages or threatens, armaments accumulate, and violence is brought to our very doorsteps.

In such a difficult period of universal crisis, when conflicts proliferate and people suffer violence, it might seem a tall order to try and promote Justice. And yet, to look at the world in seeming decay with a pessimistically jaundiced eye would not only be a very negative attitude, but would blind us to the challenge that is being presented to the present generation. World society is in a state of transition. It is passing from an authoritarian to a 'participatory society'. And the crisis we are witnessing is a healthy, though painful, stage in the world's growth to maturity. We know that, beneath it all, there is a general clamour for Justice. How do we respond.

Let me outline briefly three suggestions that may be considered towards a workable solution :

The first is to set in motion an on-going process of education of all people in the facts of world Justice, and world inter-dependence. From school book to government documentation, from primary school to university, all must be exposed to the facts. It is impossible today to promote Justice through authoritative declarations alone. Justice can only be promoted when our worldwide action is organized with the participation of the poor, the powerless, and the exploited.

Secondly, we must campaign for non-violent action. Action is absolutely essential. And the man, called to action, seems to be faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, the existing structures, in which injustice exists, cannot be altered without a participation of the masses; on the other, participation of the masses, when spurred by frustration and motivated by selfish interests, tends to create a dangerously explosive situation that inevitably leads to violence. This underlies the increasing frequency of murder, street warfare, civil strife, kidnapping, and hijacking. These undoubtedly produce an effect in so far as society stops to take note; but what their proponents overlook is the fact that in such indulgence they start

a vicious circle of uprising and oppression instead of achieving any constructive and concrete results. Indeed the powerless betray their cause by using violence. They desire to build up a participatory society wherein there is no coercion and, therefore, no violence. To resort to violence in order to achieve their objective is to contradict themselves and negate their own basic position. The promotion of true Justice and the creation of a participatory society can only be brought about effectively through the rational course of non-violence, against the strength of which no oppressive power or system can prevail, as history so amply testifies.

And this leads us to our third suggestion. Non-violent action is like a fish that needs water for survival. This water is the atmosphere of mutual trust, the environment of friendly and brotherly understanding. In such a situation of mutual sincerity and trust, there is no place for fear on the part of those who may otherwise hold even extreme positions. They are ready to talk to one another because all are urged to seek a just relationship in society.

It is in our relationship with one another that we must re-orientate ourselves and our thinking, to recognize that man does not walk on all fours, but rather, he walks upright in order, so to say, to contemplate heaven. His is a lofty destiny which can be attained, however, only if he first reaches out his hand in friendship and assistance to his brother human beings. It is in this universal brotherhood of man that the fatherhood of God is made manifest. To maintain this relationship with persevering fidelity is the Dignity of Justice.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Karachi.
17 August, 1972.

MAULANA KAUSAR NIAZI

ON behalf of the Hamdard National Foundation, Pakistan, and on my own behalf I would like to express our gratitude to our respected Guest Speaker of this evening, Maulana Kausar Niazi, for his kindly accepting our invitation to address Sham-i-Hamdard *today on the "Islamic Concept of Respect for Peace and Humanity". The invitation was actually extended to him almost a year ago when he was not the Minister of Information, Hajj and Auqaf, and usually stayed in Lahore, his native place. But, somehow or other, it was agreed upon that he would honour the distinguished audience from the* Sham-i-Hamdard *rostrum at Rawalpindi, where, fortunately, he has to be present because of his responsible and well-deserving portfolio, he is holding at present. I am fully confident that Maulana Saheb's thought-provoking speech will also include some practical hints relating to the subject.*

*Not only as an orator but also as a scholarly writer, he has secured a high position for himself in the literary world. Many of us must have read his contributions in the dailies and weeklies of the country, particularly in the pages of his own journal—***Shahab.** *Many of us have also heard him speaking in the religious forum of Radio Pakistan. Some of his old speeches have already been compiled and new ones are being compiled in book form, which will be an asset to our valued religious publications.*

The religion, Maulana Saheb follows, like most of us, is Islam and so in his writings and talks he preaches and advocates the spirit of Islam in a most comprehensive way, which can inspire us well.

The faithful to the Islamic creed are really grateful to Almighty God and His Apostle Muhammad (peace be upon him) for getting rid, on the one hand, of the idolatrous gods of antiquity, and, on the other, for elevating and dignifying the worth of human being and also giving us a high concept of respect for peace and humanity.

We have been designated as Ashraf-ul-Makhlooquat, *i.e., the best specie among all the creatures of the world. Thus God has not only given preference to Man but also, removing the disparity between Man and Man, declared that all human beings are equal in status and stand shoulder to shoulder, not only at the time of prayer but in every day life. This, in fact, is the highest charter of human dignity. But, according to his standard, a good man can only be judged by his character, words and deeds. In the Holy* Qur'an, *He says:*

ان اکرمکم عنداللہ اتقاکم

"*Verily the noblest of you with Allah is the most pious of you*". (49:13).

This standard subscribes to the ideas and the principles on which, several hundred years later, the governments based their legal systems for the welfare of human societies. It does not allow any discrimination on the basis of race, caste, colour or a high position achieved in any governmental or non-governmental set up by unfair means. Islam teaches that Man is independent and has a direct link with God and that the entire universe has been created for his sake and to serve him well. God addresses him thus :

و سخرلکم اللیل والنہار والشمس والقمر والنجم مسخرات بامرہ

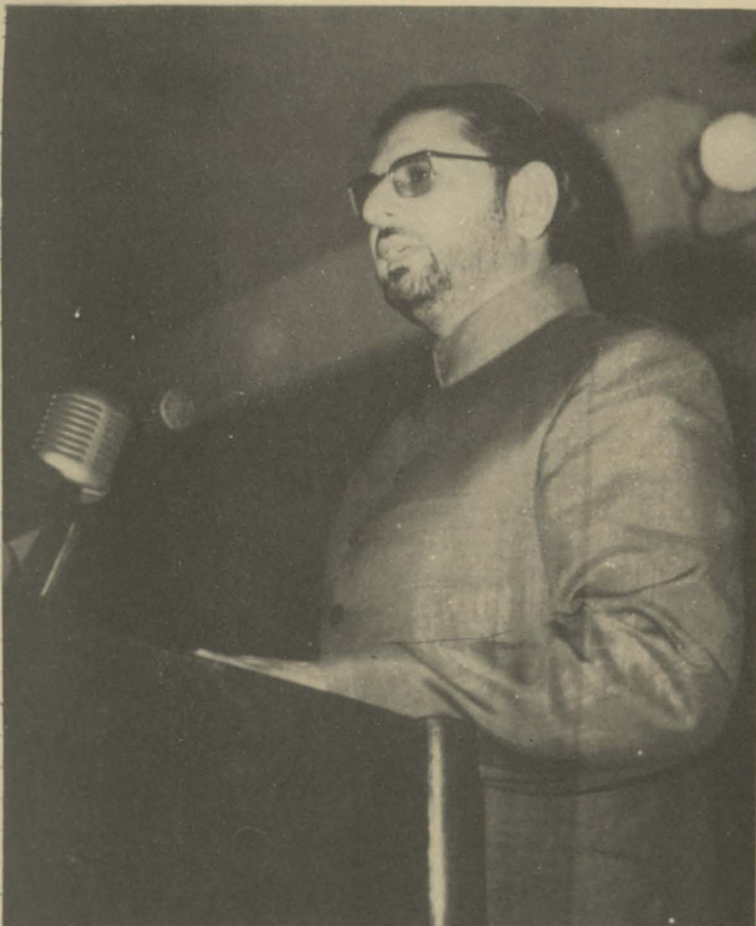
"*And He has subjected to you the night and the day and the sun and the moon; and the stars are subjected by His Command*". (16:12)

Addressing the angels, God says :

انی جاعل فی الارض خلیفہ

"*I am going to place a vicegerent on the earth*" (2:30) ,

Islam is another name of realities and as such it has taught its adherents to honour realities. It accepts the diversities among nations, sects and languages as facts based on truth. It has allowed Man to declare war against tyranny and acts of oppression because ultimately such declaration leads to peace and liberty and it aims to protect life and property. In the Holy Book, God says :



MAULANA KAUSAR NIAZI

اذن للذين يقاتلون بانهم ظلموا وان الله علىٰ نصرهم لقدير الذين
اخرجوا من ديارهم بغيرحق الا ان يقولوا ربنا الله ه

"Permission to fight is given to those who are fought against, because they have been oppressed, and verily Allah is Potent over their succour. Those who have been banished from their abodes without justice except because they say: 'Our Lord is Allah' ".
(22:39, 40)

All these points and many others will be elaborated by our Guest Speaker, Maulana Kausar Niazi.

Hakim Mohammed Said

RESPECT FOR PEACE IN ISLAM

Maulana Kausar Niazi

THE importance the Holy *Qur'an* attaches to the maintenance of peace and security in this world can be judged from the fact that it considers *Iman*, which is derived from *Aman* (peace), a great blessing for the mankind. According to the Holy *Qur'an*, the logical consequence of having faith in God is that man is delivered from fear and receives the blessing of peace. For example, the *Qur'an* sends the message of happiness to the faithful that:

"And Allah will turn their fear into peace". (55:24)

One of the sayings of the Holy Prophet on this divine blessing of 'peace in place of fear' has been narrated by Hazrat Imam Ahmad Bin Hambal in his collection of the sayings of the Prophet, known as *Masnad-e-Ahmad*, thus:

> "In the maintenance of peace and security, Allah will assist you in such manner that even a *Purdah*-observing woman living within the four walls of a house will be able to travel all alone without any guard from Medina to Aljira and even further and no thief or robber will be able to frighten her".

According to the Holy *Qur'an*, peace is a great divine blessing for the mankind and man is reminded of this fact with great stress:

"And it is an obligation on them to worship the God of this House who fed them in hunger and delivered them from fear.

In one of its glorious verses, the Holy *Qur'an* has considered it necessary to declare in most unequivocal terms that the real purpose of the prophethood of Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa (peace be upon him) and the revelation of the Holy Book was to open the avenues of peace and security for the human beings. It says:

"Without doubt, Allah has bestowed upon you light and a book of revelations. All those who desire His blessings, Allah, through this book, guides them to the paths of peace and takes them from darkness to light".

According to the Holy *Qur'an*, the pathways leading to peace are the avenues of light and the roads to righteousness. All other roads which lead to disorder, discord, cruelty, crime and injustice and which encourage bloodshed, brutality, exploitation and exactions, lead only to darkness. Such pathways, Allah says, are not fit for mankind to tread on. Allah Almighty views with particular displeasure that the Muslims, whom He has described as a blessing for mankind, should tread on the roads to darkness. Another reason why Allah wishes Muslims to avoid the pathways to darkness is that Muslims have been enjoined to propagate the good and ask the people to desist from evil.

In the words of the Holy *Qur'an*:

"You are a better people and it is your duty to direct people towards good and righteousness and prevent them from doing any evil or injustice".

Every act which prevents disorder and discord and propagates the cause of peace is described by the Holy *Qur'an* as good and every injustice, disorder, oppression and brutality, which harms mankind and humanity, is prohibited by the Holy *Qur'an*. One verse from the Chapter *Almaida*, which lends strong support to this view, says:

"Ye, who are believers should develop a rock-like resolve within yourselves to become custodians of justice and fairness for the sake of Allah. No hostility for any nation should instigate you to deviate from the path of justice. Always do justice because justice is closer to piety. Fear God because He is always aware of everything that you do". (*Almaida*-6).

The efforts made by the Muslim nation for the propagation of peace and justice and the role played by them in the cause of peace ever since the dawn of Islam are without any parallel anywhere else.

Muslims have always treated peace as the greatest gift from Allah and have propagated it actively. They have always made justice to be their national goal.

Yet, it is a great irony that the enemies of Islam have always sneered that Islam is a religion of war and not of peace. They have put a completely wrong interpretation on *Jehad* and have equated it with war and war-mongering. Yet men of learning are fully aware that *Jehad* is derived from *Juhud* which means to work hard or to labour. Wherever the word *Jehad* has been used in the Holy *Qur'an*, it has conveyed the same meaning. For example:

> "Those who struggle and labour to come near Us, We guide them on the pathways that lead to Us".

The Holy *Qur'an* says at another place:

> "Whoever strives, makes the effort for his own self".

It should be remembered that these verses were revealed during the Meccan period before Muslims were given permission to fight their enemies. The true facts are explained in *Taj-ul-Uroos* thus:

> "As Imam Raghib has said *Jehad* is the name of all out effort made to one's utmost capacity. *Jehad* is of three kinds, *i. e.* a combat with the enemy, fighting the evil forces and the struggle with one's own desires".

Islam has a rich heritage of history. This glorious history bears witness that Muslims have fought the forces of evil all the time; they have struggled against the carnal desires always but they have lifted their sword only as a last resort when peace could not be established without fighting. Muslims have also resorted to war when they were ordered to do so under the edicts of the Holy *Qur'an* or when the tyranny and brutality of their enemies had crossed all bounds. They have also been forced to fight when the enemies had driven them from their homes merely for saying: "Allah is our God". The Holy *Qur'an* says:

> "Permission to fight was given to those who were oppressed and those who were ejected from their homes without reason; only for saying that Allah was their God". (22:39).

The same thing has been explained in *Sura Hajj* thus:

"What is the reason that in the path of Allah, you do not fight to defend those weak people, some of whom are men, some women and children and who are praying to Allah to take them away from the town whose people are cruel". (7:75).

A very interesting fact here is that even when the Muslims were permitted to rise in arms for the eradication of oppression and even when they were allowed to wage war in the defence of the weak and the helpless, severe restrictions were placed on the manner in which this war was to be waged. The Holy *Qur'an* says:

"In the path of Allah, do fight those who fight against you but certainly do not indulge in excess. Do not be unjust because Allah does not like those who commit injustice".

These extracts from the Holy *Qur'an* can be cited in support of the fact that Allah does not like aggression and injustice. He permits war only as the last alternative when all other avenues are closed. And when the purpose of this enforced warfare is achieved or if the enemy desists from further combat and extends his hand for peace then, it is the will of Allah that peace becomes unavoidable. The *Qur'an* says:

"If during the course of a battle, they desist from fighting or if they refuse to fight you and offer peace terms to you then Allah does not permit you to fight them". (*Al-Nisa*' 4-90).

The same thing has been explained in this verse from *Sura Infal:*

"If the enemy extends his hand of peace and friendship then you should also extend your hand even when the enemy intends to deceive you, because Allah is a great source of support for you".

These words and the meaning they convey would bear deep consideration. Before Allah Almighty, who has already declared Islam to be a blessing for the world and who has described peace and

amity are accorded such preference over warfare that He has directed the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and all the generations of Muslims through the Prophet, that they should not reject the enemy's extended hand of friendship even when there is a risk that the enemy's intention is only to deceive the Muslims.

This was the only motivation behind the most momentous and the most significant treaty of the Islamic history which is known as Hudaibia.

Historians like Ibne Ishaq, Ibne Hasham, Ibne Sa'ad, Ibne Khaldun and Ibne Kaseer say that when in 6 A.H. the Holy Prophet started from Medina towards Mecca with intention to perform *Hajj*, he had no less than 1700 devoted companions with him; each one of whom was prepared to take on in combat each and every power in this universe at the slightest wish of the Holy Prophet. Despite this power, the Apostle of God did not encourage any fighting during the journey from Medina to Mecca. He meted out no punishment even to the two hundred mounted men of the Quraish cavalry who, according to Ibne Sa'ad, had very impudently advanced as far as the Prophet's tent. There is no doubt, however that he lined up his men in a formation before them but that was only to dissuade them from any further mischief. As a further measure, he also exhibited his arms before the Quraish horsemen. But as soon as darkness fell and it became possible to hide one's movement from the enemy, the Prophet ordered his formations to move to the rear and after hiding away in the darkness of the night, reached Hudaibia which is only seven miles from Mecca.

At Hudaibia, the Prophet called a halt and told the emissaries from the Quraish who had called on him under the leadership of Badeel Bin Warqa:

> "We are not here to fight you. We are only on a pilgrimage to the House of God but we shall most certainly fight if anyone tries to prevent us from reaching Ka'aba."
>
> (Ibne Sa'ad, Page 30, Ch. 3).

Many other emissaries came and went back after this until the Prophet was convinced that the evil-minded Quraish will not allow

ghter all the animals which they had brought with them for sacrifice.

Ibne Ishaq, Ibne Hasham, Ibne Sa'ad, Al Tabari, Ibne Kaseer and Ibne Aseer have all reported in the same vein that the Companions of the Prophet became very angry and very disappointed on hearing this directive and hesitated to carry it out.

When the Prophet saw this hesitation, he consulted his wife, Hazrat Umme Salma, and, on her advice, shaved his head and sacrificed the animals he had with him. When the situation reached the stage of actual practice, the Companions also shaved each other's heads.

(Ibne Ishaq, Ch. 2, Page 23; Ibne Kaseer, Ch. 4, Page 168; Al Tabari, Ch. 3, Pape 79; Ibne Khaldun, Ch. 2, Page 22; Ibne Aseer, Ch.2, Page 77; Al Bukhari, Ch. 2, Page 122.)

Imam Bukhari has, through an eye witness, described the despair and distress which had afflicted the whole group thus:

"The Companions were in such distress that they were about to slaughter each other instead of shaving each other".

(Al Bukhari, Ch. 2, Page 122, Ibne Kaseer, Ch. 4, Page 176.)

But this sorrow and despair was of no consequence at all before the great Guide of Islam and his Creator. Therefore, instead of bloodshed and lawlessness which would have certainly followed in case of war, each and every clause of the Treaty of Hudaibia was implemented, not only in that particular year but also in the next year, i.e. 7 A.H. when the Prophet had come at the head of a much stronger force to Mecca and performed the rites of pilgrimage in the house of God. In that year, the Prophet had just returned after breaking the power of the Jews of Khyber who were the allies of the Quraish of Mecca and who now carried the yoke of subjugation by the Prophet in their necks. Only a few days earlier, the Prophet had compelled large and proud tribes like Hawazan, Beni Fazadesh, Beni Murrah and Atfan to bow their heads in obedience before him and apart from the Quraish, the Prophet had no major adversary left in the whole of Central Arabia.

"(Begin) In the name of Allah who is benificent and merciful".

It requires no great imagination to see that these words in the Treaty were harmless and commonly understood. Yet the obdurate emissary from Quraish, Suhail Bin Umru objected saying that he did not understand those words and suggested that the phrase "In the name of God", should be substituted. The Prophet asked Hazrat Ali to write as Umru said and Hazrat Ali obeyed.

The Prophet then dictated the next phrase:

> "This is a Treaty between Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah, and Suhail Bin Umru".

Suhail interrupted:

> "Where was the need of fighting between you and us if we could accept you as the Prophet of Allah?"

He suggested that the Prophet should, instead, write his name and that of his father.

The historian, Tabari, says the Prophet asked Hazrat Ali to cross out the words, "Prophet of Allah". Hazrat Ali declined to do so and submitted that he would certainly not cross out the words after the name of the Prophet. This started a strange altercation between love and respect on one side and the obligation of duty on the other. The Prophet cut the discussion short and crossed out the words "Prophet of Allah" with his own hands and wrote: "Muhammad, son of Abdullah".

It is not necessary to elaborate on each and every paragraph of this Treaty but it is pertinent to point out that Prophet refused to be worried by this problem which had just arisen and many other such issues which arose during the negotiations for the Treaty. He agreed to each and every one of the unreasonable conditions imposed by Suhail bin Umru.

After signing the Treaty, the Prophet asked his Companions to get their heads shaved, to take the ceremonial robes off and to slau-

ghter all the animals which they had brought with them for sacrifice.

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The fundamental basis of peace is the amount of respect people accord to the sanctity of human life, and in this regard I can assert without fear of contradiction that the sanctity the Holy *Qur'an* has accorded to the human life is without parallel in any other constitution in the world and in any other way of life. The Holy Prophet to whom the Holy *Qur'an* was revealed held human life so dear that Muhaddis Al Bukhari says that whenever Prophet initiated other people into the fold of Islam and took a vow of obedience from them he made them promise on oath, apart from accepting other basic tenets, that they shall not kill their fellow beings.

Imam Bukhari has quoted the famous Companion Hazrat Abadah who relates his personal incident that when the Prophet took from him the vow of obedience then he made him promise that he will not believe in more than one God, that he will not commit adultery, he will not steal and will not kill anyone whose execution Allah has not declared legal.

Imam Bukhari has attributed another saying to the Holy Prophet which says:

> "The cases of murder shall be the first to be decided by God Almighty on the day of judgement".

The Prophet held all kinds of murder whether resulting from the internal disputes among the Muslims or of non-Muslims living under the protection of the state of utmost abhorrence. He, therefore, issued a strict instruction:

> "Whoever kills anyone living under the protection of Islam will be denied the fragrance of the paradise".

How great is this warning and how significant is this fear of the dire consequences which has been extended to those who kill those living under the protection of Islam? The protection afforded to people living under the protection of Islam and their honour and the utmost importance to the safeguarding of their rights had a singular effect. History bears witness that when the Second Caliph, Hazrat Umar Farooq was mortally wounded then he dictated his last will and testament for his successor in which he had directed:

of the tribes. First to pass were Banu Salim, then Muzaina and then Jahiza who were followed by the Holy Prophet and his Companions who had *Ansars* and *Muhajirs* flanking him on either side like brilliant stars.

Yet despite this pomp and splendour and despite this tremendous might when he reached the gate of Ka'aba after passing through the town of Mecca, the Prophet made a public address to the Quraish and granted all of them a general amnesty and told them with utmost frankness:

> "No one shall call you to account today. Today is the day of righteousness and loyalty".

But this was not the only day which the Prophet had reserved for forgiveness and righteousness. He declared that for ever and ever the House of God shall remain a town of peace. Addressing himself to the whole human race he said:

> "Oh, the sons of Adam and the people of the whole world! you are strictly forbidden to shed each other's blood, to partake of each other's property or to dishonour the women of each other and these shall for ever remain forbidden. This prohibition will continue for you on this day and in this month in this House of God".

> (Ibne Aseer, Ch.2, Page 96; Ibne Khaldun, Ch. 3, Page 237; Al-Bukhari, Ch. 3, Page 65).

The prohibition in respect of the human lives that the Holy Prophet announced on that day remains the basic cornerstone of Islam's body politic. The Holy *Qur'an* has in this regard enunciated a very clear principle. It says:

> "Whoever has taken a human life without legal justification or killed someone who has not been guilty of violence on the earth has, as if, killed the whole people simultaneously and whoever has spared one single life, has, as if, resurrected the whole human race".

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compulsion, the Holy *Qur'an* has laid a very solid foundation for peaceful co-existence.

Zadul-Mahad has reported that the Christian delegation from Najran which had come to pay their respects to the Holy Prophet was accommodated by him in the Prophet's Mosque. Not only this, but they were permitted even to worship in accordance with their beliefs in Prophet's Mosque which ranked next to the Ka'aba as the holiest of the holy shrines. These were the people of the book but the Holy Prophet extended even greater tolerance to the infidels of Taif who were also permitted to reside in the Prophet's Mosque and he himself pitched tents for them. Some Companions were not pleased with this and they protested that these people were unclean. The Prophet replied them thus :

> "The uncleanliness of these people has no evil effect on the earth".

How vehemently Islam opposes idolatory and what great efforts it has made to eradicate idolatory, yet *Qur'an* has also devised the correct ways and means for dealing with the idol-worshippers.

How great is this restriction which has been imposed on the Muslims wherein they have been prohibited from abusing the gods of others before their followers, lest they might in anger use the same language against Allah. Apart from imposing prohibition on compulsion in religion, the Holy *Qur'an* has also made it clear that to speak ill of some one's beliefs is useless because everyone considers his faith to be the best. Therefore, after clarifying the truth with logical reasoning it asks that the matter should be left to a person and his God who would deal with him on the day of judgement. It says :

> "We have thus made the acts of each group attractive in their eyes, then all of them have to return to their God who will then reveal to them the truth about their acts".

Had compulsion been allowed in religion, why would Allah leave human beings to have their free will and would He not compel them to become Muslims after accepting true faith. It says:

"If your God had so willed, the whole people of the world would have accepted true faith. Would you then force them by compulsion to bear true faith?" (*Qur'an* 10:99)

It says it is your duty to propagate Islam. Whether they bear true faith or not is their individual matter. It says :

"You are only to give advice because you are only to render advice to them, you have not been sent as their supervisor".

Islam has also accepted the same right of other religions and their followers are free and independent within their spheres to observe and practice their beliefs. They are also allowed to preach and propagate their religions with reasoning and logic but the right to practice compulsion in religion has been denied even to them.

The *Qur'an* says in *Surat Shoora* :

"Allah is our Master just as He is yours. Our acts are for us and your acts are for yourselves. There is no argument between you and we. Allah will collect us all and we are to return to Him". (15:42).

A peaceful co-existence wherein everyone is permitted to practice and preach his own religion and the utmost sanctity for the human life are the two principles on which are based the collective foundation of the teachings of Islam. On these foundations depends the establishment of world peace. Today when humanity is clouded by warfare everywhere, if the nations of the world adopt these principles as their charter, in place of their artificial and useless codes, then I can say, with great emphasis, and I assure you and every nation in the world that disorder, lawlessness, warfare, bloodshed and mutual clashes will be extinct from this earth and aggression will vanish without trace.

Sham-i-Hamdard, Rawalpindi.
5 September, 1972.

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